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Jere L. Sullivan, Labor Czar

AN OPEN LETTER TO WAITERS AND BARTENDERS, SHOWING HOW THE PURE AND SIMPLE A. F. OF L. UNIONS ARE CONSTITUTIONALLY MANIPULATED FOR THE BENEFIT OF THEIR LEADERS—OF INTEREST AND VALUE TO ALL WORKINGMEN.

An open letter to the members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America, Greeting!—

In a previous letter, published in the New York Daily and Weekly People, dated June 23 and July 1, respectively, you may find the circumstances that led up to the controversy between Jere L. Sullivan and myself, and finally causing my expulsion from the International Union. It is therefore unnecessary to repeat the same here, except such parts as may be referred to occasionally to bear out my arguments.

History has shown that in all forms of organization the men who get into power will invariably use all the means at their command to perpetuate themselves in power even though they have to resort to shady practices to accomplish their purposes, in order that they may use such organizations for their own aggrandizement. This fact especially applies to the labor movement. The mind of the average workingman is too fatigued after a day's manual labor to study the voluminous reports compiled by some of the larger organizations every month, such as the financial reports, the various laws proposed for the organizations, etc.; consequently, the affairs of the labor unions are to-day practically manipulated by the few that control the meetings, and the vote of the rank and file upon all measures proposed has become a mere matter of form and is even ignored, as in the case of the machinists' instructions to their A. F. of L. delegation! Hence, the development of our modern professional trades unionist "the labor leader". Owing to the facts enumerated, the tendency to establish an oligarchy of labor has gradually developed, until to-day a profitable despotism is in vogue, with the "labor leader" as king and the rank and file his vassals.

Your attention is herein called to the new constitution proposed by Jere L. Sullivan, which he could not induce the convention held in Kansas City to adopt, but which is supposedly submitted for a referendum vote of the membership. (Note Jere L.'s method of arranging a referendum vote upon a proposition that he wants to carry; he requests affiliated locals to vote "yes, or no" as a local and not according to the numerical strength of the locals. For instance, a large local of 1,000, or 2,000 members votes "no", and two or three small locals ranging from 25 to 50 members vote "yes", the small locals, although numerically inferior can nullify the vote of the larger local)

Proposed Constitution.

"CONVENTION.

"Sec. 6. The covention of the International Union shall be held every two (2) years, on the second Monday in the month of May."

The convention has been held every year, but this is the method employed by grafters to elect themselves to office for an additional year. They are not bold enough yet to elect themselves for life subject to "good behavior", which they themselves determine.

"SECTION 8.

"Sec. 8. The representation of the locals at the convention shall be as follows: Locals of fifty and not less than twenty-five members shall be entitled to one delegate and one additional delegate for each succeeding two hundred members, but no local shall be entitled to more than three delegates"

"SECTION 9.

"Sec. 9. The vote in convention shall be one vote for each fifty members in good standing or majority fraction thereof, provided no delegate shall cast more than three votes."

This means that a local must have at least 600 members in order to be represented for 450 members, and though a local had 2,000 members, same could be outvoted by a few of the smaller locals. Jere L. evidently thinks that he can manipulate the delegates of the small locals easier than those representing the large locals.

"SECTION 18.

"Sec. 18. The convention shall elect the General Officers and representatives to the American Federation of Labor; said representatives to be subject to instructions of the General Executive Board, and the General Executive Boar shall have power to fill all vacancies on the delegation".

"SECTION 29.

"Sec. 29. The General President and General Secretary-Treasurer shall be delegates to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor."

You'll note that they elect themselves as delegates to the A. F. of L. and want themselves to be under instructions of the G. E. B. which also constitutes themselves, instead of receiving their instructions from their constituents or the convention.

"SECTION 50.

"Sec. 50. If any local union is declared suspended by reason of any violation of the International Union laws, or suspends active operations of its own accord, all the moneys, books, seal, or any other property, must be forwarded to the General Secretary-Treasurer. All officers of local unions shall be held responsible for the faithful transmission of all the property in their respective hands to the General Secretary-Treasurer. For any violation or non-compliance with this section, the officers shall be refused all cards or admission to any union, until all such property, or the value thereof, is restored into the hands of the General Secretary-Treasurer; and, if possible, he shall procure the punishment at law of the guilty persons for illegally withholding the property of the International Union."

This means that locals that have become suspended for non payment of dues or other misdemeanors specified in this constitution, are forced to deliver all its property, not previously appropriated, over to Jere L., or be liable to criminal procedure.

"SECTION 52.

"Sec. 52. No local affiliated with this International Union shall be permitted to use any other label, button or display card except the one adopted by the International Union."

Some of the affiliated locals have a monthly working button, the most effective way of organizing the various crafts, but that is immaterial to Jere L., for whenever local buttons are used instead of Jere L.'s buttons, his profits and commission will be diminished.

"SUSPENDED MEMBERS.

"Sec. 64. Any member suspended from any local union can be reinstated on payment of five ($5.00) dollars, which shall accompany the application. But he shall forfeit all previous rights and benefits, and be considered the same as a new initiate. But this shall not be so construed as to mean the invalidation of any indebtedness (except dues), local or International, previously incurred."

The Sullivan family evidently considered the earning capacity of the average member, when they inserted that clause. They being professional union men could not consistently try to reduce the standard of living of their humble subjects, but it seems as though they are charging ail the traffic will bear.

"DUES.

"Sec. 81. Every member shall pay into the funds of the union to which he belongs the sum of twenty (20) cents per week. In case of Waitresses and members of Miscellaneous locals, the dues shall be fifteen (15) cents per week; and any member of any union who shall fail to pay dues for a term of nine weeks shall be suspended."

"EXPENSE ALLOWED LOCAL UNIONS.

"Sec. 85. No union shall be permitted to expend in any fiscal year for officers' salaries, committees' expenses, hall rent, meeting room, furnishings, printing, stationary, postage, fuel and light, taxes to trade assemblies, delegates to the same, etc., more than the following percentages of its gross receipts: Unions numbering fifty (50) members or less, 30 per cent; from fifty members and upwards, 25 per cent. Should the union expend for the forenamed purpose less than the herein fixed percentage, then it shall have the privilege to spend it locally for the advancement of union matters. This shall in no wise be construed so as to allow local unions percentages on money received for equalization or in aid of strikes."

"GENERAL FUND.

"Sec. 161. The funds of the International Union shall consist of the initiation fees, dues, assessments, interest on

(Continued on page 6.)

DE LEON IN ST. LOUIS

Addresses Lively Meeting on the Industrial Workers of the World.

St. Louis, Mo., July 16.—Daniel De Leon, on his lecturing tour from the Chicago Convention, came to St. Louis, July 14. In the evening, Section St. Louis held a mass meeting at Concordia Turner Hall, one of the largest in St. Louis. John Ernst of St. Louis, acting as chairman, opened the meeting with a few well chosen remarks, after which he introduced Philip Veal of East St. Louis, one of the delegates to the Chicago Convention. Veal held the attention of the audience for a short time, dwelling briefly upon the attitude of the Socialist Labor Party towards the principles of the American Federation of Labor and its officers, laying particular stress upon the fact that the American Federation of Labor keeps the Working Class hopelessly divided on craft lines instead of uniting them on class lines as the Industrial Workers of the World propose to do. The chairman then introduced the speaker of the evening, Comrade **Daniel De Leon**, who was greeted with tremendous applause.

De Leon began by reading the preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World, setting forth the cardinal principles of the new organization. He then took each seperate clause, one by one, and interpreted them to the audience as only De Leon can. That his lecture was well received and appreciated is proven by the fact that every time he clinched a point, he was interrupted by applause.

De Leon proved the absurdity of the contention of the American Federation of Labor that the interest of the capitalist and the wage worker is identical, and showed the utter impossibility of harmonizing them a la Civic Federation. With the aid of a chart, published by the capitalist parties, called "Uncle Sam's Balance Sheet", professing to show the progress made in this country, he proved that although the total wages of the workers increased, the wage of the individual worker declined from decade to decade; that the purchasing power of the past was greater than the present because of the ever increasing prices of commodities.

De Leon laid great stress upon the necessity of the workers uniting on class lines on the economic field and the importance of working-class political action, but, as economic action must of necessity be conducted on industrial lines, while political action can only be taken according to geographical demarkations, the new organization has adopted the attitude of affiliating with no political party.

The floor was then thrown open for questions. Quite a number of intelligent questions were asked, also the usual silly ones of the Kangaroo, some of them implying a falsehood. For instance, one asked "Why is it, that if the principles of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance were correct that its membership dropped from fifty-thousand to only one thousand?" The former were answered courteously, while the latter were handled without gloves, which caused a locally prominent Kangaroo to get upon his hind legs and shout that De Leon insulted every one who asked a question. He tried to create a disturbance, but he was subdued.

A good number of pamphlets were sold, and all were supplied with free leaflets that asked for them. When the meeting closed three rousing cheers were given for the Socialist Labor Party.

DE LEON IN CINCINNATI.

Addresses Two Meetings—Trautmann, Vaupel and Swing Also Speak.

[Special Correspondence.]

Cincinnati, O., July 20.—On the 17th of July Daniel De Leon and William E. Trautmann addressed a large mass meeting at Workman's Hall, under the auspices of the Industrial Workers' Club of Cincinnati. Dr. A. J. Swing, one of the signers of the Chicago Manifesto, and an enthusiastic fighter for Industrial Unionism in the Socialist Party, acted as chairman.

Daniel De Leon was the first speaker. He took up the preamble of the constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World and proved by facts and figures the statements made therein.

William E. Trautmann, the secretary-treasurer of the new organization, followed De Leon with a short address, criticizing the American Federation of Labor and its henchmen, and showing that the emancipation of the Working Class must be brought about by an economic organization of the workers along the lines of the Class Struggle.

The following evening the Socialist Labor Party held a mass meeting at G. A. R. Hall. Eisenberg acted as chairman. E. H. Vaupel, one of the leaders in the Socialist party who is taking an active part in the Industrial Movement, was the first speaker of the evening. He proved conclusively that the American Federation of Labor is one of the agencies of Capitalism and supported his statement by quoting the "Wall Street Journal", which proclaims Gompers' Unionism "one of the strongest obstacles in this country to Socialism." In referring to the Socialist press of the country, Vaupel said that the only papers that for years fought such trades unionism were the Daily and Weekly People.

De Leon followed with the most scientific lecture on Socialist economics that the Working Class of Cincinnati ever had the good fortune to hear, and nothing but praise could be heard on all sides.

Press Committee.

JAPANESE NOTES.

Strange Terms of Peace—Concentration of Capital in Empire.

[From the Tokio "Chokugen", organ of the Japanese Socialists.]

Strange Terms of Peace.

"Yorozu Choho", one of the most popular papers in this country, says in its English column under the heading of "The Terms of Peace":

"We should however, like to offer a suggestion to the Government concerning the matter, and if what we suggest is not included in the government's program, we hope that it will be adopted. It is this: Russia should be made to promise to give her people complete liberty of speech and press, and to convoke a national assembly. Such a demand may sound strange to most people, but we think that if it is made by Japan and accepted by Russia, it will realize our object of the war in the strongest possible way. We entered upon the conflict with Russia not with any selfish motive, but in the interest of the peace of the world."

Of course such a demand sounds very strange to us. Is it suitable for Japan where the liberty of speech and press is utterly ignored as plainly shown in the persecution of the Socialists, to make a demand for Russia "to give her people complete liberty of speech and press"? Is it again suitable for Japan where the Diet is merely a tool of the government and a representative of the bourgeoisie—a natural result of the limited suffrage—, to make a demand for Russia "to convoke a national assembly"?

Such a suggestion as appeared in our contemporary, we are ashamed to say, is only a hypocritical expression common to journalists.

The Concentration of Capital.

The concentration of capital is going on very rapidly even in this country so young in economic conditions. The three spinning companies, Miye, Owari and Nagoya, it is said, will be amalgamated in the near future; in other words the Miye Company is absorbing the other two. The two electric light companies, Tokio and Fukagawa, it is also said, will soon be amalgamated. The three beer brewery companies, Yebisu, Asahi and Sapporo, are also to be amalgamated into a large firm with a capital of 5,000,000 yen. Capitalism in Japan is thus making rapid progress, despite the topsy turvy of the war.

INDIANAPOLIS TICKET.

Section Indianapolis, at a convention held last week, placed in the field the following ticket for the city election this coming fall:

For Mayor—Theodore Bernine.
For City Clerk—John T. L. Remley.
For Police Judge—Henry Kuerst.
For Councilmen at Large—Harry Beck, Frank P. Janke, John Burkhardt, Paul F. Janke, Alexander Burkhardt, Charles Lagler.

SECTION ST. PAUL OFFICERS.

Section St. Paul, Minn., S. L. P. at its last meeting elected the following officers for the ensuing term:

Organizer, Math. J. Cikanek; Recording Secretary, Robert Peterson; Financial Secretary, Hans Carstenson; Treasurer, Literary Agent and Weekly People Agent, Samuel Johnson; Agitation Committee, N. J. Peterson, Hans. Carstenson, and Sam Johnson; Grievance Committee, E. Constant, Carsten Hanson and T. Richards; Agent for Hungarian and German paper, John Schneide

THE FARMER

A Texas View of the Cause of His Bad Condition.

The Farmers' Union can perform a valuable service if it will use some of its energies toward disabusing the minds of its members of the sophistries which they have learned from pharasaic politicians. It has come to be so in Texas that a man can scarcely hope to be elected to office without pandering to the prejudices and passions of the farmers. As a consequence, the politicians in their rivalry for the favor of the farmer have inculcated doctrines varying in their falsity from the specious to the absurd. The most mischievous trick the politicians have learned is that of exaggerating the hardships and injustices that surround the farmer and attributing them to false causes. To charge to others or to ill luck the consequences of one's own fault is a fairly to which all of us are prone in some degree. There perhaps never was a derelict who wouldn't listen credulously and even eagerly to anyone who would assure him that his failure was due to the greed or the injustice of some one else. The politicians, appreciating this human weakness, have taken full advantage of it.

They have assumed a degree of distress that is exaggerative of the real conditions, and then have charged that distress to governmental injustice and corporation rapacity. There is no widespread distress in the rural districts of Texas. We doubt if the members of any other class are so bountifully rewarded for the effort they put forth as the farmers are. This is almost invariably true of the landed farmers. Whatever distress there may be is confined to the tenant-farmers, and while the causes of their distress are many and varied, the least of them are the causes which the politicians set forth as the only causes. That laws are inequitable and that corporations are greedy every one knows. If all the laws were made perfect and every corporation was animated by the highest sense of justice, the condition of most of the farmers who now feel the pinch of poverty would not be bettered in any appreciable degree. Most of our politicians, therefore, are merely political quacks, in that they either do not know what are the causes of the conditions they complain of, or, knowing, they refuse to prescribe the proper dose because it is not palatable.

There are three chief causes of whatever distress the tenant-farmers suffer. One of them is the system of tenantry itself; another is the credit merchandizing system and the third will be found in the derliction of the individual sufferer. To explain these causes in detail is not necessary, for they are apparent to every man who observes without prejudice. It will suffice to remark as to the first two causes that in most cases the terms imposed on the tenant-farmer are little better than those of peonage. In trading his labor for the use of land, labor is appraised at the minimum and land at the maximum of value. There are few tenant-farmers which, under the system that obtains, do not pay annually to their owners a profit at least 25 per cent the value of the farm, a percentage of profit that is not made even by the Standard Oil Company. Yielding so large a share of the fruits of their own labor, they almost surrender the hope of ever becoming land owners. Not only do they thus handicap themselves, but they are also made to forfeit a large share of their independence, because the average tenant-farmer plants only what his landlord tells him to plant.

What the tenant saves from the landlord is then subjected to the credit merchant. The tenant is at the mercy of the merchant's avarice, so numerous are the ways in which the merchant may exploit him. He pays two prices for his goods, for he is made to pay the debt of every defaulting tenant. He must sell his produce, not when he thinks best, but when his creditor orders him to sell, and not a few of these merchants, in secret partnership with the buyers of cotton, forces a sale when the market is at its lowest.

Such conditions almost preclued prosperity. The most radical politician in the State might be given license to do as he will to the corporations, and yet the utmost of his effort would not ameliorate the condition of the tenant-farmer in any appreciable degree. Added to these handicaps is often the shiftlessness of the farmers themselves. So far as they have any system or method it is antiquated. Almost any other business conducted in the way that the average farmer conducts his business would be wrecked within a year. The average farmer whose condition excites the lachrymose glands of the politician learns little. He is content with the method of his and his grandfather. Sciense works in vain for him; he ignores and is contemptuous of its discoveries.

These are the causes of most of whatever distress the farmers of Texas suffer, but the politicians won't point them out, for they know that popularity is not to be won by taxing men with their own derelictions. Neither do they think it prudent to attack the unjust conditions which have grown out of the tenantry and credit merchandizing system. They turn to the corporations. These they denounce because in the past it has been popular to do so. They are, therefore, politicians rather than statesmen, because; however successful they may be in winning office, they can accomplish little in the way of reform, for they lack the courage to point out the real causes of the evils of which they complain. These reforms must first be advocated by men who have no political ambitions to subserve, and for that reason the Farmers' Union is particularly well fitted to teach economic truths in the hope that they will counteract the sophistries which the politicians have been teaching so long.—From the June 18 issue, Austin, Texas, "Current Issue."

S. T. & L. A. DELEGATE REPORT

ON CHICAGO CONVENTION—FORM OF ORGANIZATION—CONSTITUTION ONLY SKELETON OUTLINE UPON WHICH TO BUILD

In a recent article on the impressions received at the Chicago Convention, the writer promised to continue reviewing the incidents of that historic gathering. In view of the arrival of Comrade H. J. Brimble's excellent write-up, which cleverly covered some points intended to be dwelt upon at this time, he desires to submit in this connection, as a matter believed to be of interest to Daily People readers, a condensation of his report to the General Executive Board of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, which is hereby offered for publication with the sanction of the Board, and is as follows:

"To the General Executive Board of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance,

"Comrades:—

"As one of the delegates chosen by the last national convention of the S. T. & L. A. to represent the organization at the Chicago Convention of the Industrial Union Movement, I desire to report that I believe the part taken by our delegation and the work accomplished by the convention as a whole, at that historic gathering of Industrialists, will be found satisfactory to the membership of the S. T. & L. A., as it was to the delegation of which I was a member.

"As you are already aware, the deliberations at Chicago resulted in the formation of the Industrial Workers of the World, an organization presided over by a General Executive Board, a General President and General Secretary-Treasurer, the Board to be composed of representatives of the thirteen International Industrial Divisions, which for the sake of a systematic beginning, it was decided to establish; locals to be affiliated with the particular Industrial Division to which they properly belong, and isolated locals to connect directly wtih the General Executive Board. District Councils are also provided for. Naturally, there is still much room for improvement on the original constitution, which is, after all, but a skeleton outline upon which to build the structure of the new organization. This, of course, all admit, and sufficient latitude has been allowed the provisional G. E. B. to enable it to adjust the various difficulties that will arise in getting the organization upon a working basis.

"The main point is, however, that an organization has been formed as near as possible to the lines laid down in the Manifesto and the active men of the leading organizations composing it, are imbued with the proper revolutionary spirit and can be depended upon to do their share in getting it into position to carry into effect its principles, aims and objects as laid down in its constitution and declaration of principles....

……

"As you will have already noted from what has appeared in the Daily People regarding the proceedings at Chicago, the fact that our delegation came there with a clear conception of what the Manifesto called for and acted as an intelligent unit upon all matters of importance, displaying by their conduct their unanimous desire to see the intent of the convention carried out as fully and expeditiously as possible, elicited the admiration of the other delegations who showed plainly by their remarks and fraternal spirit that they recognized our desire to co-operate in launching a strong and correct economic organization of the working class......................... There are many sturdy examples of militant working class intelligence among those delegates which served to inspire us with a feeling of optimism with regard to the future of the Industrial Workers of the World and encourage us to make up our minds that it is our duty to join heartily in the work of building up the organization and making it the power it should be on the economic field. ....

"The only hitch in the work of the convention was the stand taken by David C. Coates, a Colorado printer, who is also a politician, having at one time been elected Lieutenant-Governor of that State as the Populist link in a fusion deal which gave the Governor to the Democrats, Lieutenant-Governor to the Populists and Secretary of State to Silver Republicans.

"Coates' conception or misconception of the principles of Industrial Unionism was practically identical with the national craft unionism at present practiced by the Gompers outfit. His efforts to have the convention adopt it caused two day's delay in the discussion on the constitution, but in the end his attitude and that of the few persons who were influenced by his arguments, had no appreciable effect upon the final outcome. Neither had the attitude of a few individuals who would have liked to dispel the feeling of unity so apparent after the arrival of our delegation ....

"In the matter of the cost of maintaining our delegation, the financial statement submitted herewith will show that we managed to keep within the amount of the available finances. ....

"Speaking of finances, it will be important to relate the financial features of the Industrial Workers of the World as at present provided for. According to the constitution adopted, the charters for International Industrial Divisions will be charged for at the rate of $25 and Locals $10. The stamp system of dues will be used, the Division paying a per capita of eight and one-third cents to the General Executive Board, and Locals paying twenty-five cents to the Division, isolated Locals to pay a similar amount direct to the G. E. B. It is also stipulated that initiations should be not less than $1.50 and not more than $5.00, and that no part of the organization's funds be used for sick or death benefit purposes, although there is nothing, of course, to prevent members of a local from forming an independent benefit association somewhat similar to the formation of the Workmen's Kranken-Kasse by S. L. P. men in former days.

……

"While not in hearty accord with the establishment of District Councils, or the adoption of a label, we considered that during the formative stage of the organization both would be useful, the former to help get the various locals in proper working order and the latter to assist in driving off the map such notorious scabby emblems as the Tobin shoe stamp, etc. These and the matter of dues and per capita we believed it not necessary to delay the work of the convention with any haggling over, seeing that the adoption of the constitution as a whole placed the organization upon a sound footing, and its active members being men of principle and earnestness, the experiences to be made between now and next convention could be relied upon to serve to regulate all such matters to the general benefit of the Industrial Workers of the World. Other delegates holding similar views were of the same mind. ....

"In my opinion the Board will find it to be the sense of all the members of our delegation that all members of the S. T. & L. A. be urged to give all possible support and co-operation in the heartiest manner to the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World in the work of establishing and pushing the organization particularly here in the East and I would recommend that this be done and that we at once make the necessary preparations for getting the work going in this vicinity.

"Fraternally submitted,

"Samuel J. French

The Two International Nations

"We Socialists are one nation to ourselves,—one and the same international nation in all lands of the earth. And the capitalists with their agents, instruments and dupes are likewise an international nation, so that we can truthfully say, there are to-day only two great nations in all lands that battle with each other in the great Class Struggle, which is the new revolution,—a Class Strugges, on the one side of which stands the proletariat, representing Socialism, and on the other the bourgeoisie, representing Capitalism."

These are the words of Liebknecht, in his little pamphlet "No Compromise."

With all due respect for the great author, one is yet inclined, upon first reading that sentence, to feel that he has overstepped his boundary in the use of the word NATION. That word has a distinct meaning, and usage has given it no other. A nation means a body of people inhabiting the same country, bound together by the ties of a common language, common traditions, history, interests and aspirations. At first blush, what can be more subdivided than the world's capitalists and the world's workers, respectively? Any and all languages are spoken in both camps, a thousand petty boundaries are drawn within each, a thousand petty interests divide them, and both capitalists and proletarians are each on their side imbued with at least as many sets of patriotism as there are flags in the world, each resting upon different sets of historic reminiscences and traditions. Far does each seem from fulfilling the requirements of a nation.

Yet it is ever true that when genius speaks it will command attention, even when the theory it propounds is apparently out of all harmony with common sense, for it discovers the similiar in the dissimiliar. So with the above quoted sentence. It attracts one's attention, it influences one's thoughts and observations, until we recognize it as the sublime truth, the master idea that comprehended modern events in their very bith and contrast.

Look but at the world to-day, and what is plainer than that it is divided into two and only two great nations—a capitalist nation and a workers' socialist nation.

Let a Socialist, or even any other decent worker, for example, pronounce to himself the word "Russia", and we guarantee that two feelings, separate and opposed, run through his mind with it. There is one Russia, the Russia of Czardom, of bureaucracy, of power, the Russia which is fighting with the little yellow man in the far East. We like undoubtedly to see that Russia licked! We feel triumphant when its cohorts have been routed and its galleys sunk! But there is another Russia: the one which is struggling against Czardom, bureaucracy, oppression and incipient Capitalism. That is proletarian Russia, and for it we have very different sympathies. Every drop of its blood is our blood! Every prison door that shuts after one of its champions shuts out our sighs of sorrow for the inmate! That is the Russia we wish to see powerful, triumphant, to rise in all its might, and we cheer it joyfully to action.

Turn again to Japan, and there are, as decidedly, two Japans. Contemplate the little fellow struggling with the European "Goliath", the late "terror of all the world." We cannot refrain from admiring him, he is such an enthusiastic, vigorous, youthful fellow. In him we see enacted upon the historic stage of to-day the European and American history of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century,—the triumph of Capitalism over outworn feudalistic institutions. Yet, while we read in large headlines in the daily papers of the triumph of the Japanese capitalists, there comes to us quietly every month from that country a little paper called the "Chokugen", the organ of the Japanese Socialists, a few paragraphs of which are printed in English to establish a connection with the Socialist Movement of Europe and America. In these we read tales of oppression and persecution of the little band of Socialists, which is already appearing in the steps of youthful Capitalism. And we feel that that alone represents OUR Japan, and the spirited conqueror appears in a different light: that of an exploiter and oppressor of Labor. And the Socialists of Japan know the capitalists of Japan to be their enemies and the workers of the world to be their friends, as the following from the latest "Chokugen" will show:

> "The government dissolved our meeting of every evening from the 7th to the 15th. So Comrade Kinoshita could not deliver a speech even one time during the whole week of our agitation. The Socialist votes given to Comrade Kinoshita, the candidate, were only thirty-two. But these thirty-two votes are very precious. We imagine they are, like the stars in the clear sky, sparkling and glittering most brightly in the sky of Japan, and that the comrades of all the world are looking at them from far and near with great hope and joy, and most sympathetically clapping their hands."

Aye, comrades of Japan, our hands sympathetically applaud, while we look at Japan's proletarian stars!

Cast another glance at the Scandinavian Peninsula, where also a page of the World's history is being written. While the Swedish capitalists cry insult and offense at the action of their Norwegian brothers and threaten dire results, the Workers of that country present a solid front and declare that they will refuse to fight against their Norwegian fellow Workers, as their interests are identical and opposed alike to the capitalists of both countries, from whose fight they can gain absolutely nothing but the slaughter and the hardship of the battlefield. At these resolutions "a thrill of joy prophetic" runs through the aching proletarian breast from land to land. It is the prophecy of the day when OUR NATION—the Workers' World Nation—shall be supreme, and no capitalist enemy shall be able to divide its members and make them destroy each other, in order to settle capitalist quarrels.

Thus we see within each nation TWO NATIONS. Moreover, it is as easy to comprehend that though the capitalists of different nations may squabble with each other over petty interests, in the great ultimate capitalist pursuits they are one. The English capitalists have done in India and Africa what the Americans have done in Cuba, in the Philippines, in Panama; what the Japanese are doing in Manchuria; what the Russians have tried to do in the Far East; what the Swedes try to do in Norway; in short, what all do or try to do everywhere—subjugate races for capitalist profit.

Again, in its relation to the Workers' World Nation Capitalism the world over acts in identically the same manner. From 1819, when unarmed workingmen were slaughtered at Manchester, Eng., because they "dare complain, with a murmur weak and vain", against the slavery forced upon them, the relation of Capital to Labor is that of a persecutor, executioner and tyrant in every clime and country. Indeed, the international capitalist nation is tied together with the bonds of an identical history, the same interests and aspirations, it has an international language understood everywhere: that of "gold, yellow, glittering, precious gold", and its symbol everywhere is the sign of the almighty dollar.

Let us again turn to the history of the Working Class, as an international nation, which dates from the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and see how truly its bonds unites its members. There are two names, those of Marx and Engels, that have been so interwoven in our earliest traditions as to make them our heroes; indeed, almost part of our faith. The smallest Socialist child in any land knows those features. Many other names of honored champions of the Working Class are becoming household words the world over. The exchanges of sympathy of the French and German workers at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, are upon the book-shelves of the Socialists of the world, as documents of the first sign of independent national life of the International Nation of Workers. The Paris Commune is to-day celebrated by the proletarians of all lands as the one grand and glorious event in its history. The 4th of May, 1886, is always remembered by the two significant words "Haymarket Tragedy." The 22d of January, 1905, is already a red letter date in its international calendar, and the cry "Long Live Poland!" arouses a deep feeling among the Workers the world over, as we know that it stands nationally for the international watchword "Long Live the Working Class!" Although the Russian revolution is in reality a capitalist revolution and hence must be recognized as legitimate by international Capitalism, yet it is so permeated with proletarian aspiration and victory that the daily new dispatches cannot keep from interweaving the accounts with such words as anarchists, pirates, murderers and marauders as applied to the Workers of Russia and Poland.

Our international calendar is replete with dates that all class-conscious Workers remember. Our history, from the early Chartist movement down to the Colorado class conflict, is full of events both of bitter defeat and heroic glory; our blood has already flowed in torrents in the struggle of the world's Workers against the world's Capitalists. Events are crowding fast within our world, the Worker's world, the Socialist world.

All the important events do not take place in the bloody struggle with tyranny. There are also peaceful events—the triumph of proletarian reason and logic. Important among these events is already that of the 27th of June, 1905. It marks the date of the convening of delegates upon an international basis, representing thousands of workers of the greatest capitalist country in the world, who, with mature knowledge and in the face of the great struggle before us, are ready to forget all factional struggle of a less mature past, and go jointly forth to victory over Capitalism. It marks the beginning of the constructive work of the Workers on an international basis. We are in the nucleus of the Socialist Republic.

Recently at a joint entertainment of the Socialists of San Francisco, our Hungarian comrade Basky made an address of which the English comrades could distinguish only the one word "Socialism"; but the fire of the young comrade carried all with him and when he closed the audience broke out in cheerful and spontaneous applause. After him Comrade Bohn spoke and, referring to this, said that though we had not understood the words of what had been said, the spirit of it we had fully caught, for we felt he had spoken our language which is one everywhere, the Workers' language, the language of opposition to Capitalism and its oppression of the proletariat.

Our nation is bounded only by the broad expanse of the earth. Upon it all Workers belong to one and the same international nation, held together by the bonds of the common language of Freedom, the same traditions, history, interest and aspiration.

In 1819 when Shelley wrote his "Masque of Anarchy", ENGLAND stood for CAPITALISM; now it has embraced the world. His famous lines should now read:

WORKERS' NATION, heirs of glory,
Heroes of unwritten story,
Nurslings of one mighty mother,
Hopes of her and one another!
Rise, like lions after slumber,
In unvanquishable number!
Shake your chains to earth, like dew
Which i nsleep had fallen on you!
Ye are many, they are few.

OLIVE M. JOHNSON.

Oakland, Cal., July 10.

PAMPHLETS
—OF THE—
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY
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Peonage in America

Peonage is neither a race nor a Negro problem any more than astigmatism is. It is purely a labor question. The suppression of the poor by the rich, of the weak by the strong, of the ignorant by the educated, is an evil that has occupied the attention of the legislator since the beginning of elective government. The enslavement of the illiterate laborer is the easiest as well as the cheapest form of tyranny.

The whole system of peonage was founded upon indebtedness. Debt has always been the highway to servitude. The capitalist, in a land where labor is difficult to enforce, is always eager to be a creditor to poverty and ignorance. The advance is the sweetened paper that catches the illiterate and desperate human fly and holds him often until life is extinct.

In a charge to a jury in a peonage case, a United States district judge gave the following definition of peonage as practised in this country: "It is where a man in consideration of an advance or debt or contract, says, 'Here, take me, I will give you dominion over my person and liberty, and you can work me against my will hereafter, and force me by imprisonment, or threats of duress, to work for you until that debt or obligation is paid.'"

There is no doubt in my mind that the company's store at the mouth of our mines and quarries, where the capitalist employs illiterate labor and dominates the community by reason of its isolation from independent public opinion and the press, by the terrorism of power and purse, is the original cause of a state of peonage whose hopelessness it is impossible to overestimate. Any man who labors year in and year out and who cannot catch up with his advances at the company's store, and who is not allowed to stop work until he does, is in a state of peonage from which he can pray release from the nearest Federal Court, if the petty county lawyer dares not take up his case. If the man is forced to labor under an agreement, and the debtor is held against his will, the law holds that the agreement, no matter how or why it was made, is illegal under the peonage statute. If statistics could be had from all over our country—and these can come only through action before the United States courts—I believe it would be found that the proportion of the white peon to the black peon would be as five hundred to one.

Peonage, like slavery, is a crime, and I wish to repeat that it is a labor problem that has nothing to do with eithe, race or color, section or locality. It creeps in wherever in isolated places ignorance and illiteracy are at the mercy of capital and power. Wherever it exists in the North and West, it is not recognized as peonage, nor will it be, until the drivers of peons are indicted by the grand jury and haled before Federal courts.

It is because the Federal courts of Alabama and of Georgia have been so strenuous in prosecuting peonage cases that we know so much about the subject.

Alabama has furnished the most exhaustive and dramatic illustrations of peonage of all the states in the Union. This is because peonage was there first discovered, and then most relentlessly pursued, by fearless Federal officials. That peonage had been practiced for years under the protection of the state contract labor law that had not been declared unconstitutional, no one for a moment doubts. Many of the Gulf States are no more righteous in this matter. But until two or three years ago, nobody in the state knew what peonage was. They hardly knew what the name meant. Every one did know that sheriffs, magistrates, rich landowners and many politicians were in the habit of buying and selling negro laborers who had ben arrested on real or "faked-up" charges, who had been fined and who were compelled to work out their alleged fines and costs at the mercy of their masters.

Now, this is the way the new slavery was worked:

In Alabama there are about twenty-five hundred jutices of the peace. These justices under the law have jurisdiction in criminal cases of petty larceny in which the value of the stolen property does not exceed ten dollars. They can also impose sentence of fine or imprisonment, or both, for drunkenness, vagrancy, and like petty offenses. Their sentences to hard labor cannot exceed twelve months. They have no jurisdiction to hard labor for non-payment of costs. The value of hard labor in working out a [illegible] is about thirty-three to thirty-[illegible] cents a day. Under the statute of Alabama, these justices do not have to make a report of their convictions to any one. The state convict board, the county labor agent, the secretary of state, no one, knows anything about these convictions officially. Consequently, a person summarily sentenced by a justice of the peace drops out of sight like a marble in a well. He has no number, no record, nothing by which he can be restored to freedom except the good will or whim of the man who works him.

Besides the justices of the peace, each one of whom has power to appoint special constables, there are seven to eight hundred notaries public, who are ex-officio justices of the peace, and who generally usurp their power. In addition, there are sixteen hundred and fifty constables in the state. So there are about forty-nine hundred officials without adequate supervision who account to no one for their acts, and whose living depends upon the fees they can exact when a conviction is made. No conviction, no fes—no living. It is natural that in isolated sections these men may develop into human bloodhounds seeking whom they can devour.

Now, when you add to this a state law under which each "peonist" fancied himself protected unto the uttermost, then one cannot wonder that a new serfdom was born. Every condition conspired to enslave the poor and ignorant. The wonder is that any black man without anchorage was let free.

Probably no case made a greater stir than that of J. F. Turner, a sub-contractor for county convicts. These were bought from F. W. Pace, who is at present under a suspended sentence. At his trial, many well-known people vouched for the uprightness of Turner's character. A convict-contractor has a stockade, maintains guards and bloodhounds, and works men. Three negros were tried by Wayor White, of Goodwater, convicted and fined six dollars and sixty cents each, making a total of nineteen dollars and eighty cents. They were then marched across country and sold to Turner for forty dollars.

As far as can be ascertained, one of these negroes was picked up in Goodwater on the charge of vagrancy. He was on his way home, and stopped to ask some one to give him something to eat. For that offense he was arrested, roped and sold. It was, just as the judge stated to the jury in his charge, "as though some ruffian had come on the streets of Goodwater and picked him up and forcibly carried him off to hire him out." There was no law, no legal proceeding, nothing to justify the outrage.

The selling of a peon from planter to planter like human collateral, is so common a practice that it needs illustration. Joe, a "husky" negro, borrowed a dollar one day while under temporary hallucination. It is about as dangerous a thing for a negro to borrow as it is for him to take a swig of prussic acid. He was arrested and charged with obtaining money under false pretense. The question of whether he could pay it back or not, evidently did not enter the head of the justice of the peace before whom he was tried. Here was a man out of whom several dollars could be made. So Joe was fined five dollars and costs, and then was not given the opportunity to pay. He was locked up overnight, and the next day a planter "confessed judgment"—that is, paid Joe's fine and a bonus, so that the whole bill was forty dollars. With him Joe signed a criminal contract that bound him to work ninety days for the benevolent planter who saved him from prison. The planter worked Joe a year, and then sold him to a neighboring planter for fifty dollars, making ten dollars and a year's work out of his orininal bargain. So Joe signed a new criminal contract with his second owner, and one night tried to escape with a boat. He was run down with dogs, caught, and sentenced by the court for two terms of six months each—one for cutting the painter of the boat, and the other for breaking his contract. It was a little after that time that the poor fellow was rescued by the government officers.

In point of fact, all cases are alike in the inception—the alleged offense—the counterfeit trial—the unrecorded sentence—the imposition of a fine—the frightening the poor prisoner with a penalty of the convict-stockade—the arrival of the farmer who will pay the peon's fine and costs—the purchase of the peon—the signing by the peon of the criminal contract which binds him to an indeterminate slavery—and finally the imprisonment in the very stockade which the prisoner dreaded, for an immeasurably longer term than any properly convicted county convict could have possibly served for the same offense.

Bob English, a poor white, with his two full-grown boys and nine other children, was a renter on a certain farm in Coffee County. In the spring of 1903, the sons of the landlord went out to cut down a tree in which bees were hiving. As they passed by the English cabin, they called Bob English to come along and help them. Naturally, Bob assented to this congenial proposition of the sons of his overlord. The job of getting the honey was bothersome, and it was decided to set fire to the heart of the tree, which was punk-like. A month later, a negro reported to the boss that a fire was smoidering in the "honey-bee tree." Whereupon an order was sent to English to put it out. English was a renter and under no legal obligation to obey any such command; but he forgot the order, although, as he afterwards testified, he would not have dreamed of disobeying it. He was at that time watching the cotton-plant sprouting. A month later, there was a little fire in the woods and the damage to his turpentine-tres was estimated at fifty dollars. Bob English and his boys were arrested and brought before a justice of the peace, charged with criminal negligence in burning the woods. In a little while, it came out that the owner of the woods, Prestwood by name, had no hard feeling toward Bob English and was perfectly willing to let him work out the fifty dollars and fine with him. So Bob signed a contract before the justice of the peace, in which it was made to appear that he, Bob, had received fifty dollars as an advance. Thus Bob signed himself and his two boys into slavery. After working for three months and getting rations that barely supported them alive, they asked for an accounting, and were told the debt had ben reduced by only three dollars and twenty-eight cents. Then Bob and his boys broke out of the stockade in which they were kept, and walked five nights until they reached the Florida line, eight miles away. Prestwood was finally forced to accept forty-six dollars and seventy-two cents for the release of the Englishes from their imprisonment for alleged debt. Prestwood is at present under indictment.

Cases of negro holding negro in peonage are probably not so common, but still they occur. D. J. Jackson is one of the many colored preachers who make cotton during the week and hold services on Sunday. He went to a store one day, in Troy, Pike County and bought articles to the value of six dollars and eighty cents, and had them charged. It is rather a rare thing for a negro to buy anything and not have it charged, so this was not an isolated case ar[illegible] one to engender suspicion. Two [illegible] later, the store-keeper swore out a warrant against Jackson under the state law, charging him with getting goods under false pretenses. Jackson was then brought before the justice of peace and threatened with the chain-gang, and Jackson naturally was frightened to death. He was locked up for a day or two in jail. There was no trial, no plea of guilty, nothing whatever to savor even of the presence of legallity, but a negro school teacher by the name of Hall came forth and said that he would help Jackson out and the poor preacher, clutching at any straw, allowed Hall to confess judgment; that is, to pay the whole amount to fourteen dollars and fifty-five cents, itemized as follows:

"Justice's fees	$3.25
Sheriff's "	$4.50
Damages	$6.80"

So Jackson signed a criminal contract which had been prepared for him, agreeing to work out for Hall the amount of this advance.

As I said before, the borowing mania is liable to be a fatal one to negro boys. The case of a young negro by the name of Brown is mentioned only because of the high price he commanded. This black lad borrowed a dollar from a man by the name of Crumpler, and promised to pay it the following week. During this time he went to Ozark, and he failed to pay it on the day that he had named. He was arrested and put into jail. He was not asked whether he had the money—probably he did not have it. But he was fined, as they all are, and then marched under handcuffs to the lumber-mill of S. W. Tyson, who paid ninety-six dollars and fifty cents for him. The man who lent the money, the constable who arrested and finally sold him and the justice of the peace who fined him must have made altogether a handsome thing out of Tyson, put the lad in stripes, and worked him under guard for eigth months, locking him in at night. He then sold Brown to George Stevens for thirthy-six dollars fifty cents. I have often wondered why that extra fifty cents was tacked on.

At the present writing the Sheriff of Crenshaw County is a fugitive from justice and said to be hiding somewhere in Mexico. The trouble with him seems to have been that he was an epicurean. He loved the pleasures of the table; he pined for a cook. It seems that for some time he had his eye on Mat Youngblood. Mat was an execelent cook, but she would not come to the sheriff's house and exhibit for his benefit her culinary art. So one evening she was apprehended by a constable on the frivolous sharge of playing a ten-cent limit game of poker. She was brought before a justice of peace, convicted of the crime of gaming and assesed a fine of fifty dollars. To this was added a clerk's fee of nine dollars and ten cents, a sheriff's fee of twelve dollars, a solicitor's fee of sixty dollars, a witness' fee of eleven dollars and forty cents and a removal bill of of fourteen dollars and twenty cents The total amounted to one hundred and fifty-six dollars and seventy cents. The woman confessed judgment to her fine and costs and the sheriff with two others became her surety; having thus come into possession of her person, he put her into his kitchen and told her to cook. During this time some friends of the persecuted creature interested themselves, and the governor of the state remitted her fine. Nevertheless, she was held and worked. Thereupon the woman fled. But the sheriff had tasted of her broiled chicken, or her corn-cakes, of all the delicacies that stimulate the Alabama palate. She was brought back, tried in the county courts and was sentenced to ten days' hard labor for the county, and to sixty-three days for the cost of the suit, as though she were a confirmed criminal. She was put in charge of the county convict-contractor, who handed her once again to the sheriff of Crenshaw County, who put her again into his kitchen and ordered her to cook. At this period, the injustice and inhumanity, as well as the high-handedness, of these proceedings aroused comment, and she was plucked out of her slavery by the hand of the Federal government.

On the 25th day of March, 1902, Samuel M. Clyatt was convicted in the United States Circuit Court for the Northern District of Florida of having returned certain persons to a condition of peonage, in violation of Section 5526 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

The case itself was this: Gordon and Ridley were two negroes who were said to have left the firm of Clyatt & Tift, engaged in the manufacture of turpentine in Georgia, in debt. From the testimony offered, these negroes had probably never worked these negroes had probsought as workmen under this trumped up charge. Clyatt, accompanied by two confederates, with guns and handcuffs, followed the negroes into the state of Florida. Armed with bogus warrants, he came upon the fugitives at night. The deputy sheriff who served these warrants did not read them, "because he had left his spectacles at home"; the charge was stealing and gaming. These warrant; there was the trailing of these no retnrn was made upon them. Naturally, the men protested, but guns were drawn upon them and they were handcuffed. In spite of protests, they were carried across Florida into Georgia, where they arrived at Clyatt's house at midnight. There was a pretended charge of an alleged debt; there was the bogus warrant; ther ewas the trailing of these men as if they were escaped criminals; there were the dramatic apprehension at night, the pleas for mercy, the threat of arms, the employment of chains and forcible abduction; there was the compelling of return to work out a debt, the imperious inscription into a condition of peonage; there was the violation of the Constitution and of that merciful section which forbids the hounding of men who have not been convicted of crime.

Peonage is only one of the many fruits of our confused industrial system.—**Herbert D. Ward, in Cosmopolitan**

BERGER ON THE INDUSTRIAL WOKERS OF THE WORLD

MILWAUKEE SENTIMENT IN ITS FAVOR MAKES HIM UNEASY—BEGS THOSE WHO ARE OPPOSED TO THE A. F. OF L. TO "QUIT KNOCKING"—PRAISES "BORING FROM WITHIN" AS "PROGRESSIVE" "SANE" AND "SCIENTIFIC", REGARDLESS OF THE DRUBBINGS ADMINISTERED TO IT AND HIM AT SAN FRANCISCO AND ELSEWHERE, BY THE GOMPERS' CIVIC FEDERATIONIZED A. F. OF L.—SNEERS AT, AND MISREPRESENTS THE NEW ORGANIZATION, AND IS SORRY DEBS'S NAME IS CONNECTED WITH IT!!

[From Milwaukee Social Democratic Herald, July 15.]

WORSE THAN WAS EXPECTED!

By Victor L. Berger.

The so-called Industrial Convention in Chicago has finally adjourned after ten days or more of continual talking and very little working, and has launched what has been styled as the Industrial Workers of the World.

As to the outcome, I will quote from the report of the Chicago Socialist. It was evidently written by a man who participated in it and who was in close touch with all that has been going on. He says:

"Up to the time of going to press the De Leon and Hagerty factions have dominated the convention. There is an old proverb which says that extremes meet, which seems to hold good in the alliance effected between Hagerty and De Leon to control this convention. We find Daniel De Leon, who has for many years been the oracle of the Socialist Labor Party in all its political contests, working hand and hand and consulting cheek by jowel with T. J. Hagerty, who deprecates all political action on the part of the working class as a means of emancipating themselves from wage slavery.

"From all present appearances when the convention now in session finishes its work, the real workers represented there will have just what they had when they started: the Western Federation of Miners and the American Labor Union, plus an absurd and ridiculous name, and one of the utopian wheels from the head of Delegate T. J. Hagerty, to which will be added the dead weight of De Leon's shab organization, the S. T. and L. A.

"We are of the opinion that the experience of the bona fide workingmen in this convention, who see the necessity of industrial organization, will teach them, when they call conventions in future, to seat delegates who represent labor organizations and leave the ex-priests, and ex-college professors and individuals who represent nothing but themselves to do the theoretical talking and writing on the outside, where they are often very useful."

Judging from this report and from the meeting held in Milwaukee under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party, where Prof. Daniel De Leon, Father Thomas Hagerty, and National Committeeman William Trautmann from Ohio spoke, I shall have to somewhat revise my opinion of that convention. It is not an attempt to revive the American Labor Union. That may have been the intention of Debs, Coates, Moyer, and some of the western miners originally. But it has turned out to be simply an attempt to strengthen the Socialist Labor Party and to revive the old and defunct Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

Only I must say that Daniel De Leon and the Socialist Labor Party have degenerated fearfully. The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance had some well-defined principles and a philosophy of its own. It was wrong in its direction, but it at least went straight in that direction. The so-called Industrial Workers of the World is nothing of the kind. Its preamble shows it to be a desperate scheme of desperate schemers. I am very sorry that the name of Eugene V. Debs is connected with it.

I am also very sorry that some of the Milwaukee comrades make this scheme the pretext of knocking the party and the trades union movement.

Why should we in Milwaukee, who are generally conceded to be in the advance guard of the progressive labor movement in America, try to split up the trade unions? And why should any Socialist trades unionist or any progressively thinking workingman withdraw from his national organization, thus weakening the progressive elements in the American Federation of Labor?

When the great mass of the trades union movement, or at least, the most intelligent part of it, have learned the advantages of industrialism and get ready to adopt it then they will get it. Not sooner.

Our duty is to educate and agitate within the trades union movement.

The path of development for the trades union movement is simple enough. The union movement will just have to follow the evolution of industry. Some trades unions have learned the lesson. Some of the large international unions are building now on lines of industrialism. Others will follow. All the others will follow so much the sooner, if we st[illegible] in and do our duty in the trades unio[illegible] and in the labor movement in general.

Comrades, of late years we have been proud of the Milwaukee trades union movement. It is known all over the country to be largely Socialistic, yet it also has the reputation of being sane, scientific and deliberate.

Comrades, let us live up to our reputation. Let us continue to try to build up a labor movement with two arms, a political arm and an economic arm. Quit knocking! Go to work! Strengthen your trade union in every possible way. Distribute sane Socialist literature on every occasion. Build up the Social Democratic party and show the world what Milwaukee can do for the American movement.

Victor L. Bergre.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE CHICAGO CONVENTION

"I wonder if those who come after us will look upon Brand's Hall as we look upon Faneuil Hall and Carpenter's Hall, and upon those who signed the Manifesto as we look upon the signers of the Declaration of Independence?"

Thus spoke the genial and vivacious little lady who acted as assistant to Secretary Trautmann in the Chicago Convention—Mrs. Emma F. Langdon. The question was addressed to the writer, and he, to be truthful, answered that he didn't know.

The question, still, is worthy of consideration. The trumpet blasts of Faneuil Hall sounded the death knell of chattel slavery, and from Carpenter's Hall came forth the ringing declaration that "Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed".

Will Brand's Hall be spoken of in time to come as are the historic meeting places named? I hope so; but that is for posterity to say. I hope so, because of the fact that, if such be the case, we shall have succeeded in the greatest task ever undertaken by men—the emancipation of humanity from capitalist bondage and wage slavery. Faneuil Hall championed a cause that was fought to a successful issue, and so did Carpenter's Hall. That is why I trust that that place of wretched acoustics and miserable ventilation, Brand's Hall, will be classed with them, not that I desire that we who were there shall be remembered by those who come after us.

It was my misfortune that I had to leave before the close of the Convention. Upon my return to Colorado I eagerly scanned the public press for news of what had been done after my departure from Chicago. Just one item met my eye, but that was very good and full of promise. It was stated that the constitution had been adopted as a whole, and that it had been scored by D. C. Coates and Alex. Fairgreaves of Montana, which, to me, was not a bad sign, knowing as I did the attitude of those men in the convention and what they stood for; the one for organization along craft lines; the other for organization along State lines.

As a consequence of the declination of the bourgeois press to give us information as to what had been done during the last two days of the Convention, I had to wait for the Weekly People. I was particularly anxious to know who had been chosen for president, and it was with intense gratification that I read the name of Charles O. Sherman. I had not expected that he would be the man, but I do not think that a wiser choice could have been made. Comrade—I think we may call those who stand for Industrial Unionism comrades—Sherman impressed me as being a man in earnest; one whose heart is in the movement and who is determined to see the thing pushed through to a successful issue.

Sherman furnished one of the striking—one might almost say amusing—incidents of the Convention. The roll was being called on a motion to refer, made by Mr. Coates, I believe, and about this time the delegates were awakening to a realization of the fact that their time was being frittered away and that the movement was in danger of being side-tracked. To have referred the report back to the Committee of Constitution meant the overthrow of the movement for the time being. I wonder how many who voted "Yes" realized what they were doing? President Moyer had distinctly stated that the committee had done its best, and would, in case the report were referred back, asked to be discharged. Had a new committee been appointed from among what we may call the Coates element, it is certain that its report would not have been accepted by the Convention. Thus we would have arrived at an impasse. Sherman, I think, realized this, and when his name was called, he fairly yelled "No!" A little laugh ran through the audience, and more than a little thrill of satisfaction among those who were fighting to set the new movement on its feet.

Greetings, Comrade Sherman, may you, when it comes time to rest; when the "long day's task is done and we must sleep", look back over your work with the satisfaction that comes in having accomplished something worth while.

* * *

It was a foregone conclusion that W. E. Trautmann would be named as general secretary-treasurer. Surely, if any man deserved this honor, it was he. Genial, courteous, persevering, he, more than any other, was responsible for the bringing together of the "First General Congress of Industrial Workers" on June 27, 1905. He will have no Priesterbachs to throw him out of the Industrial Workers. Success to him, too, in so far as he works for the success of the organization.

Of the executive board members selected, I know only C. H. Moyer and John Riordan. Moyer is too well known to be touched upon here. Comrade Riordan impressed the writer as being a quiet but determined man; one who will make his presence felt in the long, deadening uneventful days and also when there is a fight on.

* * *

I do not think that those who were not in attendance at the Chicago Convention will fully appreciate the difficulties that were faced and conquered, even when the stenographic report is available. Unpleasant features were continually cropping up, one of the most annoying being what looked like a put-up job to exclude Comrades De Leon and Trautmann from the list of speakers at the ratification meeting of the 7th. When the list of speakers was presented to the Convention by the committee charged with getting up the same, the surprise of the delegates was apparent. It was generally conceded that no two men had done more to bring about the success of the Convention than the two whose names had been conspicuously ignored. When it was moved that the names of De Leon and Trautmann be added to the list of speakers, one of the committee opposed the motion on the ground that it would be best to leave out those who had been the subjects of recrimination in the past. This, to say the least, was a remarkable attitude to take. Only a few days before Debs and scores of others whose intellectual development is certainly on a level with, if not considerably higher than, that of the objecting committeeman, had announced that they had forgotten the differences of the past and were standing upon the platform of the present.

Comrade De Leon's attitude in the Convention could not be impugned by the hypercritical, and as for Trautmann—what had the committeemen against him, in past or present? The Convention took the matter in hand, and the men passed over were added to the list of speakers. Part of the committee then resigned and were replaced by men who carried the ratification meeting to a successful issue.

* * *

Among those occupying seats on the stage was a member of the Socialist party, a man who, but a little while ago, filled an important position in that organization and who is now connected with one of its papers. The man's face was a study in sullenness for the greater part of the time; but one afternoon it lighted into smiles. It seemed as if those who stood for organization along craft lines were about to take us into camp. Comrade De Leon had asked Mr. Coates two or three questions and had received two or three truly Coatesian answers. The ex-national secretary smiled; nay, he laughed! The "Old Man" and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance were getting it in the neck. Such fun!

"And the next day it snowed!" Coates went down under an avalanche of votes and

"Mailly's face is sadder, now,
"His smile has passed away."

The progressive element had won out: the spirit of the Revolution was in the ascendant. The child that was being born in such travail was committed to the care of men who do not simply mouth the Class Struggle.

* * *

The position occupied by the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance delegation was not without its significance, even though we had been allotted to it by accident. We sat in the center, away up ahead, and clustered around were those of the Socialist Labor Party, who did not immediately represent the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. Among these were Frank R. Wilke, Max Eisenberg, E. J. Dillon, Katie Eisenberg, B. Frankford, and others whose names I cannot recall to mind. To any one who came expecting to see the Alliance men a rowdy lot, a disappointment was in store. No delegation gave the Convention closer attention and greater respect. But one "break"—if "break" it may be called—can be charged to us. The "business agent" Murtagh, whose name and deeds have already been recorded in The Daily and Weekly People was delivering himself of a speech, which was being audibly and adversely commented upon by the delegates, when, in answer to his assertions that he was that, this and the other thing, Comrade Paul Dinger cried out "You are a fakir!" This verdict was so nearly in line with the opinion of the great body of the delegates that not a voice was raised in protest.

The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance delegation voted steadily and solidly "Yes" or "No" on every question raised, not evading one. We did all that lay in our power to bring the Industrial Workers of the World into being, despite the "Class Struggle' 'reactionaries, as we will do our best to see that the new organization accomplishes its mission.

* * *

From the first day of the Convention to the last Section Chicago had a stall in the entrance to the hall, upon which was exposed for sale the various publications of the Party and The Daily People. Day after day Comrades Wolff and Dillon quietly but efficiently attended to the very essential work of distributing the literature of the party. The comrades named may not appear conspicuously in the annals of the Conventions, but they did good work there just the same, and let us give them credit for it.

* * *

It was out of the question that so many people could gather together without developing a humorist. The funmaker appeared in the person of Joseph Shatz Shatzke of Denver, an optician who had "spent two hundred dollars of his own money in coming here and who lived with his family in two rooms when at home." Shatzke is one of the best natured men imaginable—none other could have stood the guying—and very much in earnest. His first hit was in a speech in which he declared that "we would make the tyrants and despots shiver" To attempt, with the pen, to convey an impression of the remarkable manner in which this defiance was hurled forth would be ridiculous. Nothing but a good phonograph would suffice. I may say that it brought the audience to its feet in a storm of laughter and will be a source of mirthfulness to those who heard it for many a day.

I would advise the New York comrades to ask Sam J. French about it He is good at imitations.

Shatzke, quaint as he may have been, is not altogether a fool, by any means. In speaking of Murtagh he used the words "business agent" in such a manner as to convey more in two words than any other man in the Convention would have been capable of doing in a two-hour speech.

There is one feature of Mr. Shatzke that is not open to question, and that is his sincerity. In this he can give pointers to many a man of stronger intellect.

Mr. Shatzke came to a timely end on Tuesday, 3d July. The Convention was becoming tired of him. He, of all men, said that we talked too much, like the Prohibitionists who, instead of roasting the saloon men, should set up saloons in competition and so put their enemies out of business. This sally was greeted with such a burst of ridicule as to make the true inwardness of the situation apparent to Shatzke himself, who had appeared hitherto as being impervious, and he sat down. The next day he was missing, to turn up Thursday a much subdued and chastened man.

* * *

The interest taken in the convention by the members of the Socialist Labor Party was apparent in the fact that comrades came to Chicago from Pittsburg, Pa.; St. Louis, Mo.; Minneapolis, Minn.; Kalamazoo, Mich., and other places, not to speak of a big delegation that came in from Milwaukee, headed by Comrade Vierthaler. It is evident that every militant Socialist in the Socialist party and in the Socialist Labor Party throughout this country and Canada had his or her eye upon Chicago. And the same may be said of every militant fakir. The affair was worthy of the attention.

H. J. BRIMBLE.

LOS ANGELES DEBATE

On Tactics Forces "Socialist" Party Members to Admit Compromise and Defend Gompers' Capitalist Unionism.

Los Angeles, July 12.—"We desire to report that we have met the enemy and have suffered no loss." Through the efforts of our rousing agitation committee, section Los Angeles Socialist Labor Party and Local Los Angeles "Socialist" party men in deboate upon tactics Saturday evening, July 10, at the "Socialist" party Hall. Mr. Walker, organizer of the "Socialist" party local, represented the "Socialist" party and Comrade H. J. Schade represented the Socialist Labor Party. Time was divided, allowing thirty minutes each for the main address of both speakers; after which three speakers from both sides were allowed five minutes each. Comrade Schade then closed for his side with a ten minute speech. Mr. Walker concluded the evening's debate, ten minutes being allowed for him.

Comrade Schade opened the debate by explaining what Socialism is, and why two Socialist parties are in the field. He declared the "Socialist" party had not stuck to the class struggle and proved his declaration correct by citing local instances, with which the audience was familiar, viz., that of retaining as a member of the "Socialist" party local a man who was scabbing upon the organization the "Socialist" party holds as their model of trades unionism, the American Federation of Labor: of retaining as a member a man who nominated Dr. Houghton, a capitalist politician, for membership of city council, just to put the recall in force, claiming that the action was right, as the re-call was a Socialist measure, and holding as a member a man who was fired out of the Socialist Labor Party for refusing to recognize or abide by the re-call, James F. Carey. Schade, continuing, supported his declaration by showing that the "Socialist" party compromised with the Schmitz faction of 'Frisco because Schmitz was run on a "union labor" ticket. He also cited the case of Johnson, of Chicago, and many others which time and space will not allow. Schade then attacked the "Socialist" party press, showing the inability of the "Socialist" party to centralize and control its press; and delved deep into the tactics the Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance have always pursued. Judging from the attentiveness of all present, his remarks were fully appreciated.

Mr. Walker, in opening up for the "Socialist" party, said: "The Socialist Labor Party and 'Socialist' party may differ on tactics, but not on fundamentals." He said he could not stand guarantee for the "Socialist" party, as he knew it has been lax in may localities, had done many unsocialistic things, things that were entirely wrong, that he believed the Houghton and other cases to be wrong; declared he believed in industrial unionism, but said he had quit the Socialist Labor Party because of its attitude towards the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. He did not believe the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance had been any benefit whatever, that it was not what the workers want, that the tactics were not the best now, and he was not sure they had ever been the best, as it was his opinion that nothing would do more toward retarding Socialism than the disruption of the trades unions, such as are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. That a man could not be converted with a club, and politics could be discussed in the unions at the present time. Anything said to the contrary was all bosh. Sam Gompers was no more the king pin of the American Federation of Labor, cut no more ice within the organization that De Leon did in the Socialist Labor Party or Debs did in the "Socialist" party. He believed in supporting the American Federation of Labor unions, but admitted the 'Socialist" party could not say it supported unions, and support scabs at the same time; but that the Socialist Labor Party had no union label on its literature. As to the Schmitz compromise, he said "I marched in the parade, sat on the platform during the speeches, and I have in my possession one of the platforms of the labor union. I have read it, and it is as socialistic as any Socialist Labor Party platform I ever read, but it was never circulated." He believed the tactics of the "Socialist" party wrong, they should lend support to the pure and simple trades unions and try and convert the American Federation of Labor in this way, instead of passing resolutions. As a whole Walker's argument was simply a defense of the American Federation of Labor.

Three of our comrades, viz., Hurley, Haller and Weinberg, spoke five minutes each, proving themselves capable on tactics. Comrade Weinberg criticised Mr. Walker's declaration, regarding his (Walker's) belief in industrial unionism and his subsequent contradictory defense of the American Federation of Labor, and fired a telling shot by showing that Mr. Walker "declared he believed in what he did not believe in, and did not believe in what he declard he did believe in." This was a broadside and its effect was telling.

The "Socialist" party being unable to raise three speakers, only two spoke for five minutes for the "Socialist" party side. The first of these is an ex-member of the Socialist Labor Party. He said he didn't want to know anything about the scientific or tactical part of socialism. All he wanted was socialism. He proved himself to be the comedian of the evening. Their next speaker, Mr. Sanftleben's remarks were principally expressive of his happiness at noting that the Socialist Labor Party members had arisen above calling the "Socialist" party kangaroos.

Comrade Schade then closed for the Socialist Labor Party in a ten minute speech. In that ten minutes he tore down the defense Mr. Walker had tried to build around the American Federation of Labor and erected an impregnable defense around the Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, which Mr. Walker, in closing, could not indent. Thus closed our first debate. There will be a return meeting, to be held in Socialist Labor Party headquarters next month, date not yet decided. We are hopeful of good results from these meetings.

Press Committee, Section Los Angeles, Socialist Labor Party.

P. S.—Taking Mr. Walker at his word, our agitation committee called at Labor Temple to try and arrange for one of our speakers to address the Teamsters' Union. Our committee was informed that politics were not allowed in the unions. But, perhaps Mr. Walker is of quaker principles, and believes in, or means, silent political discussions are allowed

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History of a Proletarian
...Family...
Across the Ages

By Eugene Sue.

Translated by Daniel De Leon.

In order to understand our own time it is absolutely necessary that we know something of the times that have gone before. The generations are like links in a chain, all connected. The study, by which we can learn what has been done and thought before us, is history, and this is perhaps the most fascinating of all studies. Many historians fill their books with nothing but battles and the doings of "great" men, but happily this style of writing history is becoming obsolete, and the history of the people is taking its place. Socialism is more concerned with the history of the people than with the doings of kings and queens; and with a knowledge of the history of the people we can better understand how the great men achieved prominence. Eugene Sue has given us in the form of fiction the best universal history extant. It is a monumental work entitled "The Mysteries of the People," or "History of a Proletarian Family Across the Ages."

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Owing to the limitations of this office, correspondents are requested to keep a copy of their articles, and not to expect them to be returned. Consequently, no stamps should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888	2,068
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,564
In 1900	34,191
In 1904	34,172

For still the new transcends the old,
In signs and tokens manifold;
Slaves rise up men; the olive waves
With roots deep set in battle graves.
—WHITTIER.

DEBS SUBSTANTIATED.

Eugene V. Debs's declaration that the Industrial Workers of the World must expect to be fought by all the auxiliaries of Capitalism, does not lack substantiation. Already has the press—"pure and simple" Socialist and "undefiled capitalist alike—pitched into it. The Kansas City Journal of July 13, is an especially vicious representative of the capitalist portion of the onslaught. Ignoring the strike news contained in its own columns, brushing aside governmental statistics showing the conflicts between capital and labor to average more than 6000 a year from 1880 to 1900, despite arbitration and the secret suppression of discontent practised by Employers' Associations, deliberately overlooking the recent bloody events in Colorado, with its bull pens and civil war, the Journal characterizes the cardinal principle of the Industrial Workers, that the interests of employer and employe are antagonistic, as "blatant idiocy and treason." Such argument is convincing of only one thing, and that is, that the Journal will willingly repudiate truth and substitute vituperation in order to defeat the new labor organization and defend Capitalism.

Not content with this exhibition of "sound reason" and "pure loyalty", in the pursuit of its apparent policy, the Journal gives others. Again ignoring facts which its pages and governmental reports make evident, namely, that millions of laborers to-day work co-operatively and interdependently, producing wealth, while a few capitalists organized in corporations and trusts systematically steal it from them through wages and profits, the Journal calls the Industrial Workers' advocacy of the economic abolition of these few capitalists and the restitution of their plunder to the laborers from whom it was stolen, "universal spoliation and confiscation." It is almost needless to say that this argument, like that of its predecessor makes apparent the low moral level the Journal is compelled to adopt in order to fulfill its too obvious determination to oppose the new organization in behalf of Capitalism, regardless of the facts and issues involved. Such a moral level is that of the upholder of the daily robbery of the many by the few.

Of course, the Journal, in the face of its obviously discreditable performances, indulges in the usual cry of "law and order" behind which the legalized plunderers of all ages have taken refuge and from behind which they all are eventually driven into the open. The slave-holders could quote the constitution in a manner that compelled the Abolitionists to declare it a "covenant with hell." They secured the Dred Scott decision in a strictly legitimate way; they were lawful and orderly, very much so; but no sane man will to-day fail to appreciate the fact that slavery was doomed by the moral and economic evolution of American society, and forced thereby into open rebellion. And so with the Journal and the Industrial Workers. The former may shout "law and order" as much as its purposes require; but industrial evolution and the new morality to which it is giving birth, both favor the Industrial Workers and its mission. Both will repeat history once more, and force the overthrow of the old law and order for the new.

A FEW STATEMENTS AND A FEW QUESTIONS.

The Milwaukee "Social Democratic Herald" of July 15 contains the following editorial squib:

"The fellow Trautmann, who began the heresy-hunt against Wisconsin, is now showing how a 'loyal' party member should comport himself. In Milwaukee, last week, he, although a national committeeman, was one of the three star speakers at a public meeting called by the S. L. P. The meeting was extensively advertised by large posters issued by the Milwaukee S. L. P."

The New York "Worker" of July 22, evidently taking its cue from the foregoing (it is notoriously devoid of initiative, and falls willingly into the line set by others), spins out the following long-winded editorial paragraph:

"We observe that William E. Trautmann and Thomas J. Hagerty are speaking with Daniel De Leon on the platform of the S. L. P. We do not know whether or not Hagerty is still a party member, though we do know that he has been getting engagements to speak on the strength of the general assumption that he was such. Trautmann, however, is not only a party member but a national committeeman, and we submit that his action is a grave breach of party discipline. In our opinion his action is worse than that for which we have so severely blamed Victor L. Berger, because it involves an element of duplicity. Berger is perfectly open and above board in advising Socialists, when they had no ticket of their own in the field—and only then—to vote for the least objectionable of other candidates. Trautmann, in a letter published in this paper a few weeks ago, implicitly denied having any connection with De Leon, and his whole subsequent career has shown the falsity of his denial. De Leon is an insidious enemy of Socialism, wearing the mask of a friend, and is therefore a worse enemy than those who make pretenses of friendship. De Leon goes into various places where the Socialist party is in the field for no other purpose than to disrupt and to destroy—in other words to do the work of capitalists in a far more vicious way than do Parry and Matz—and Trautmann and Hagerty go with him and help him. We call upon all comrades to see that Hagerty gets no further chance to pose as a representative of the Socialist party; and we call upon the comrades of Ohio to see that Trautmann either stops speaking for a hostile party or gets out of our National Committee."

Trautmann spoke with Hagerty and De Leon at the above meeting for the Industrial Workers of the World, which was launched that same week at Chicago. Among those who took part in the work of launching the Industrial Workers along with De Leon, Trautmann and Hagerty, was Eugene V. Debs. During the convention Debs praised the soundness of Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance principles and teachings (and he who praises the soundness of the S. T. & L. A. also praises the S. L. P., whose offspring it is); addressed De Leon as a comrade, and said that industrial unionism will ultimately mean a single union on the economic field, and not only that, but also a single party of Socialism on the political. De Leon, in answering, declared the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is ready to join hands with all who sought the unification of the workers on both the economic and the political fields. Both De Leon and Debs received ovations for thus making class conscious industrialism the basis of economic and political unity.

The foregoing statements are quoted and made for the purpose of making clear a few matters, and asking a few questions, viz: in view of Debs's utterances and conduct, which, though they did not occur under Socialist Labor Party auspices, are essentially and ultimately the same as Trautmann's, why this hullabaloo about Trautmann? Are the "Social Democratic Herald" and "The Worker" so wedded to fusion and capitalist unionism that they are going to make a scapegoat of Trautmann for the purpose of preventing a single union on the economic field, and also a single party of Socialism on the political, if they can? Do they realize that their efforts in that direction will prove more beneficial than harmful to unity in the long run, and are, therefore, welcome?

As Comrade De Leon is now on an agitation tour, the appearance of the Cincinnati letter on "De Leon and 'De Leonism'" in this issue, is easily accounted for.

My, but those anti-"De Leonites" are getting very fraternal, calling De Leon comrade, and being called comrade in return! What will Gompers, the "Social Democratic Herald" and the New York "Worker" do now? Excommunicate them along with Trautmann?

The fact that the legislature has taken up the Equitable scandal simply means that the scandal will now break out in the legislature. That $700,000 loan will then manifest itself in various ways.

When such a backward State as Arkansas proceeds to bust the trusts, after these mighty mediums of production have succeeded in entrenching themselves in all the advanced States, the prospects of victory crowning Arkansas' efforts look slim, very.

With Chauncey Depew coming back "to get square", the Equitable mess will receive another stirring up.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second the day, third the year.

THE MONGOLIAN MENACE.

The Chinese boycott is responsible for a new phrase: "the Mongolian menace." Though inspired by the same commercial and economic development in the Far East that is responsible for that other formidable and ill-foreboding phrase, the Yellow Peril, it has a slightly different, though none the less significant meaning and application. In the Yellow Peril the Asiatic races are depicted as awakening from centuries of barbarism and embarking in the complete economic subjugation of the white races of the globe, imposing upon them not only commercial supremacy, but the religions, customs and institutions of the ancient world. Of course, the theory underlying this phrase has its flaws, for it is impossible to conceive that such a transformation can occur without at the same time sloughing off many of the things which now render the yellow man objectionable to the white man, and without ultimately evolving new Social systems more in accord with Occidental aspirations, like Socialism, for instance, of which there is already a good-sized germ in Japan.

But this is a digression. In the new phrase, the Mongolian menace, we have something more immediate and positive: we are not dealing with the distant and aggressive competition of the yellow man's commerce, but his retaliative use of that commerce in its own behalf—not an offensive but a defensive move. Briefly stated, then, the underlying motive ascribed to the Yellow Peril is incursion, while that of the Mongolian menace is exclusion. Yet both are interrelated and interacting. As shown by the coiner of the new phrase, Mr. Harold Bolce, the Chinese boycott comes "at the moment of Japan's advance to the forefront." Japan is the advance guard of the Yellow Peril. The Chinese boycott will promote Japan's interests, and the interests of the Asiatics; while relegating those of the United States to the rear. This is a serious condition for the latter, and for all Europe. The closing of China's markets to the United States means the fastening down of that safety-valve of overproduction, its export trade. It means, as a result, either a more strenuous invasion of Europe, or domestic panics and crises; in a word, revolutions, foreign and domestic. The Chinese boycott is truly the Mongolian menace!

GOMPERS' CO-WORKER, DRISCOLL.

The workingmen of this country have heard of John C. Driscoll of Chicago. In April, 1903, the "National Civic Federation Monthly Review", the organ of the society of which Mark Hanna was then President, and Samuel Gompers was and still is vice president, contained an article headed "John C. Driscoll, Mediator, Chicago Board of Arbitration." In this article Driscoll is hailed as "the genius who is responsible for the organization of this board." On July 2 of this year, the Grand Jury of Cook County, Ill., indicted forty-seven labor leaders and two employers, mainly on the testimony of this "genius", who confessed to having spent many thousands of dollars in bribing labor leaders to start and settle strikes, and providing for "wrecking crews" during strikes. In other words, this "mediator" was a mere go-between for dishonest and illegal elements.

On Sunday, July 16, the annual election of the Chicago Federation of Labor was stopped by "wreckers", and Michael Donnelly, one of the watchers, and the only one to be so treated, was murderously assaulted. The motive of this attack of the "wrecking crews" is said to be a mystery; but it is generally believed to be an outcome of the scandalous conditions promoted by Samuel Gompers's gifted co-worker, John C. Driscoll. One fact of importance, very much in evidence, is the fact that Donnelly had been slugged once before, following charges of bribery against Driscoll, made by him. The Chicago "Tribune" of July 17 says of this previous assault:

"The former attack upon Donnelly, to which his wife referred, was committed in October, 1903. While returning home one night Donnelly was set upon by three men who 'slugged' him and attempted while he was unconscious to pour acid in his mouth. He was found at State and Forty-third streets and taken home. For months his life was despaired of. Previously Donnelly had attacked John C. Driscoll in the Federation of Labor. Driscoll, he charged, had attempted to bribe Secretary John Floersch of the Packing Trades' Council. Donnelly secured an investigation of the matter, and William Rossell was chairman of the investigating committee. Rossell was 'slugged' two weeks afterward."

What do the members of the American Federation of Labor think of Gompers's co-worker on the National Civic Federation, John C. Driscoll? What is their opinion of Gompers, who, as vice president of the National Civic Federation, has promoted the "mediation" of his co-worker, Driscoll? They must think he is all right, and their opinion of him must be good, if they don't condemn him and demand that he step down and out. Any workingman who supports Gompers, supports Driscollism, with all its accompaniments.

LABOR AND LEISURE.

In the open letter to waiters and bartenders published elsewhere in this issue, the writer lays great stress upon the fact that "the mind of the average workingman is too fatigued after a day's manual labor to study the voluminous reports compiled by some of the larger organizations (of labor) every month." To this condition of mental fatigue the writer attributes the building up of the labor-faking oligarchy. There is, without doubt, a great deal of truth in this contention. Too often, in these days of intensified labor, are workingmen so tired after a day's toil that the after-supper attempt to read a newspaper ends in sleep. Physical nature craves rest and takes this method of getting it. The results must, and do, interfere with all efforts toward progressive and alert unionism, and also toward the development of an able and competent citizenship.

But fortunately, there is an ever increasing number of workingmen who, alive to the necessity for so doing, are so cultivating and deporting themselves as to develop the constitution and the character which enable them to overcome these conditions, to some extent. These workingmen are striving for a form of labor organization whose basic principles will make labor-faking impossible, and eventually create those conditions in which Labor will possess the leisure essential for its proper development. These workingmen are striving to bring about industrial unionism on class lines. This unionism aims to unite all trades according to industrial development, and the antagonistic interests of capital and labor arising therefrom. It will concentrate labor according to industries, instead of dividing it according to craft, as at present. Its slogan will be "An injury to one workingman is the concern of all workingmen", instead of the present one, "Each trade for itself", with the result that the capitalist defeats us all, making our reduced hours of toil intensified ones; while the labor fakirs, thanks to the trade agreements which make these trades union crimes possible, bask in the friendly smiles of the capitalists and dine sumptuously with them at the banquets of the Civic Federation.

This industrial unionism, further, will be the framework of Socialism. Socialism will reduce the hours of toil in proportion to the progress of invention and machinery. Even now it is calculated that with the machinery in existence, planfully and properly operated, a four-hour day of toil would be ample. Thus, this new industrial unionism is preparing the way for conditions in which Labor will secure ample leisure for physical repose and mental cultivation, thereby transforming its millions of overspecialized and overworked mental and manual workers into well rounded and well equipped participants in the affairs of an enlightened and elevated society.

A DANGEROUS PLATITUDE.

Mayor John Coughlin of Fall Ricer, Mass., prides himself on being a trades unionist and President of the Street Railway Men's Union. The Mayor, on the 18th instant, welcomed the Carpenters' State Convention to the city. In the course of his address he advised the adoption of the principle of arbitration, claiming that it is rapidly taking the place of strikes. This statement is worthy of notice. It is so often repeated by trades union mayors and "labor leaders" as to be commonplace, and so untrue as to be dangerous. It would be safer to say that instead of taking the place of strikes arbitration is causing them. In the Mayor's own town, for instance, such were the disastrous results of the arbitration of the late textile strike, that another strike of the cotton operatives is broached. The New York building trades went out on strike against arbitration. The anthracite coal miners are chafing under its results, and preparing for its overthrow next spring. The litho industry was tied up last year because of arbitration. The trade agreement and the closed shop, upon which arbitration is based, are, in a great measure, responsible for the Citizens' Alliance and the Manufacturers' Association, with their 1500 strikes and lockouts. The Interborough strike was a product of the effects of arbitration. And so we might go on down a much longer list. There is a reaction against arbitration and its pernicious products. The result is that arbitration is not preventing but causing strikes. Fortunately, the proceedings of the Carpenters' convention, with its reports of strikes against non-unionism and attempts to restore the ten-hour day, show that the delegates are not likely to be taken in by the trades union Mayor's treacherous platitudes. Practical experience is more reliable to them than unsustained phraseology.

FIGHTING CAPITAL WITH CAPITAL.

The announcement, growing out of the Southern employment agency inquiry now going on in this city, that the United Mine Workers has spent $1,500,000 in unsuccessfully fighting the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company, in Tennessee and Alabama, demonstrates the futility of "fighting capital with capital." $1,500,000 is certainly a stupendous sum. It meets the Gompers' idea of the reserve fund necessary to bring capital to a proper recognition of the claims of labor. Yet it is wholly inadequate, virtually wasted, in so far as the immediate object of its expenditure is concerned.

No man will deny that "the sinews of war" are important aids to success; but there are other things of far greater importance. There must be class-consciousness among workingmen; by this we mean that the members of the working class must recognize that they have nothing in common with the capitalist class, either in the shop or at the ballot box; that they must organize for the abolition of that class and that the workingman or workingman's organization that stands by and aids the capitalist class is a traitor and a foe to the working class—an aider and abettor in its exploitation and suppression. The Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company is one of the largest producers and shippers of coal, iron and steel in the South. If we mistake not, a considerable portion of its steel and iron works are organized by the Amalgamated Association of Tin, Steel and Iron Workers. The engineers, firemen, switchmen, etc., are also organized in their respective brotherhoods. Yet to date, according to the information at hand, neither the iron and steel workers, nor the railroad workers have co-operated with the coal miners in their strike. Nor have the other unionists in the two States sought to aid them decisively and effectively, either economically or politically. The miners have had to go it alone, while the capitalists fighting them have had the active co-operation of the steel and iron unions, the railroad brotherhoods, and all the other organizations directly concerned.

With unionists working hand-in-hand with scabs and capitalists, is their any wonder that $1,500,000 is spent without the desired result, and "fighting capital with capital" is proven a futility once more? Labor must change the spirit, the form, the tactics and the goal of its organizations if it wishes to achieve success. Without such a change extravagant and disastrous failure will continue to be its lot.

GRAFT.

The "Evening Post" in a recent editorial, discussed the question "Is Graft the Rule?" After quoting President J. J. Hill's answer to the question Do the Equitable disclosures indicate a low moral tone in commercial circles?, to wit, "Water cannot rise higher than its own source", the "Post" goes on to say:

"For one thing, we are bound to admit that corrupt politics has too much had its root in private corruption. . . We have got to make business men honest before politicians will be honest; to see to it that the fountain is cleansed before we expect the water to be sweet."

This is a valuable admission, as it sustains the Socialist conclusion that political corruption is due to capitalist interests, which are opposed to the social interests which government is supposed to represent, and which they consequetly vitiate and demoralize for their own purposes. But how business men can be made honest, how the water will rise above its source, the "Evening Post" does not say; consequently, it gives no clue to the things necessary for the purification of politics. This is important, for without such knowledge all enterprises of a collective character, such as Socialism, are bound to result in capitalist instead of social benefit, filling the pockets of the former at the expense and demoralization of society in general.

Though the "Evening Post" was perforce compelled to refrain from saying how business men can be made honest, politics purified, and social enterprises consequently made to redound to the benefit of society, instead of the corrupt capitalist class, Socialism is under no such compulsion. It says it can be done by abolishing business. It says "Abolish the private ownership of the social means of existence, which turns the Capitalist Class into the demoralizers of government." Socialism says: "Compel class interests and class exploitation to give way to social interests and the exploitation of nature for the benefit of man. In brief, abolish graft by abolishing its cause." That is Socialism's sound moral basis for urging social ownership of capital. And it is justified by the conclusions derived from the "Evening Post's analysis of the cause of graft.

KEEP AWAY!

The workingmen and women of this country are never overblessed with too much employment. Statistics show that from 20 to 40 per cent of them are idle even in the best of times. Just now there is especially an abundance of unemployed, owing to the trade depression of last year. Trades union journals are advising their readers to stay away from many important industrial centers. "No work; idle men walking the streets", is the reason given. Yet, despite this, the capitalist press would fain make it appear that a scarcity of labor exists in many cities. This is said to be the case in Fall River. It will be recollected that the operators there are very restless. They have been compelled to submit to a wage reduction of 12 1-2 per cent, and to an increase in the number of looms operated with an electric motion stop. There are threats of strike, and general dissatisfaction exists in Fall River. Troy, N. Y., is also said to be hampered by a lack of labor, female labor especially. Troy is the collar and cuff center of the country. The collar and cuff factories have immense laundries. In some of them the female starchers are on strike; and labor generally is disaffected as a result. These facts reveal the true condition of affairs, and make the object of the "scarcity of labor" cry obvious. It is to compel labor's submission to conditions against which it rebels, by overflooding the labor market and rendering Labor helpless. Capitalism, now as always, needs the unemployed. It is the reserve army upon which it draws to complete Labor's subjugation. Let the workingmen and women conversant with these truths give Fall River and Troy a wide berth, in order that Labor may be assisted in offering effective resistance to its own degradation. Keep away!

The readers of the Daily and Weekly People will no doubt recall the brewer labor fakir, Franz Neidermeir. He is the worthy who tried the bluff of threatening the Daily and Weekly People with a libel suit, in order to prevent their exposures of the nefarious gang that is milking the brewery workers. He is also famous as the master of ceremonies on Brewer's Day, at the New York "Volkszeitung's" so-called Food Exposition, in the Grand Central Palace last year. This worthy is now reported missing. He has gone with $1,600 of his union's money. The "Volkszeitung" is as mum as a clam regarding its pet's actions. It doesn't care to have its well-paid brewery advertisements jeopardized by acting in the interests of the brewery workers. It considers silence golden. What it considers the brewers is plainly evident.

The statement that "the United States stands for the 'open door' in the Far East," is not as significant as it used to be. The Chinese are slamming the door shut in her face. Circumstances alter cases—and the significance of phrases.

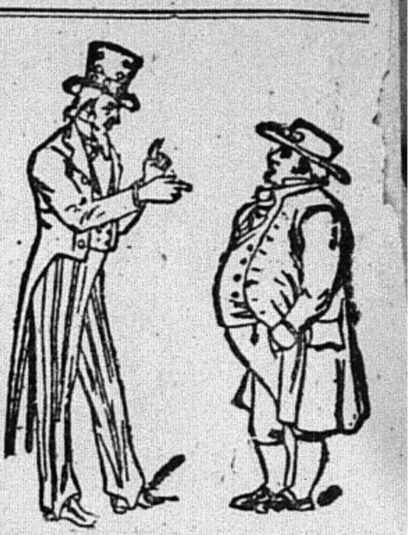
The Toledo "Socialist" has joined in the demand for national committeeman Trautmann's scalp. Trautmann must feel flattered to have honestly incurred the enmity of this vile imitator of yellow journalism.

In our correspondence column will be found a letter from State Organizer August Gilhaus of Ohio, on the arrest of pickets as vagrants, in Toledo. This outrageous proceeding is but one of many incidents illustrating the uses to which the law is put in the interests of employers. When will the Working Class learn to secure control of the legal functions of the State through the ballot, and use them in their own interests, instead of voting them into the control of the capitalists, with the results noted above?

Gilhaus's letter is valuable in another respect, in that it shows the fallacy and impotency of A. F. of L. craft autonomy. "Every trade for itself" is their cry; and the capitalist beats them all, as a result. The Toledo iron workers are conducting a good fight, but with the bricklayers and others arrayed on the side of the contractor, along with the police and courts, how can they possibly win? What a difference there would be if those strikers were backed by men animated by the principles of the Industrial Workers of the World!!

If there were any prospects of new markets at the North Pole, Peary's ship would not sail handicapped by lack of funds. In that event, the capitalists would hustle to see that he was as liberally endowed as a foreign mission.

In Gloversville, Fulton county, New York, there was recently a big strike. Now, like in Fall River and Troy, where other big strikes were also recently fought, it is said there is a shortage of labor in Gloversville. The manufacturers want to attract thither the unemployed, so that they may "do up" the strikers. Keep away!



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—There was a Socialist Labor Party meeting the other day that should damn you Socialists forever in the eyes of the workers of this country.

UNCLE SAM—Did it fire bombs?

B. J.—No; it favored the importation of pauper labor.

U. S.—You are mistaken; what it did was denounce the anti-immigration howl.

B. J.—What is the difference?

U. S.—A good deal. This anti-immigration howl is a fraud on the people.

B. J.—Do you call it a fraud on the people to relieve the labor market?

U. S.—That would not be a fraud; but to make believe one wants to relieve the labor market, and in that way gain the confidence of those in whose interest it is that the labor market be relieved, and armed with their confidence acquire power to overstock the labor market still more—that is the fraud.

B. J.—In what way is anti-imm[illegible]tion all that?

U. S.—The labor market is o[illegible] stocked to the compositors; did im[illegible]gration do that?

B. J.—No; typesetting machines d[illegible]

U. S.—The labor market is overstocked to the cigarmakers; did immigration do that?

B. J.—No; the numerous machines did it.

U. S.—The labor market is overstocked to the weavers; did immigration do that?

B. J.—Why, no; the steam and automatic looms did it.

U. S.—And so we may go through the whole string of the nation's industries. Machinery, born in this country, overstocks the labor market much more by displacement than immigration does. Now, anti-immigration laws cannot, in the very nature of things, be enforced and their violation is hard to detect; [illegible] the other hand, the injury done to [illegible] by privately owned machinery c[illegible] remedied by the popular owner[illegible] it. When a pickpocket wants [illegible] your right side he tips your hat [illegible] left; he thereby throws you o[illegible] guard on the right and has free [illegible] These anti-immigration howls are [illegible] that nature. In the first place, it soun[illegible] plausible to impute the hardships o[illegible] Labor solely to immigration; in the second place, the way to save all the good there is in the machine, and at the same time prevent its ravages among the workers, is not so clear. It is, therefore, the veriest imitation of the pickpocket's trick to beat the alarm against immigration. By doing that, even if immigration were wholly stopped capitalist exploitation would continue unabated through the displacement of Labor by the machine. The capitalist would have engaged the attention of the workers with a question that amounts to nothing, and would thereby draw their attention away from the real issue. Don't you see the fraud?

B. J.—But doesn't immigration do some harm? Won't you take a half loaf rather than nothing?

U. S.—I would take a quarter of a loaf rather than nothing; but I refuse to accept two lumps of stone as large as a loaf each, and called loaves, for loaf of bread. Who are the people w[illegible] bring in the immigration? Is it [illegible] workers?

B. J.—No; the capitalists.

U. S.—That being so, just think [illegible] they try to fool you with a stone [illegible] they call "half a loaf!" These [illegible] capitalists who want the immigrants to be the ones to keep them out! T[illegible] want the whole loaf of genuine b[illegible] that consists in your ballot, and t[illegible] promise to give you a law which, [illegible]cording to yourself, it is in their int[illegible]est not to enforce! You are a fool, [illegible] they know it, and that's why they ke[illegible] on with their tricks to trick you of your ballot.

B. J. looks crestfallen.

U. S.—Not the foreign laborer is th[illegible] enemy you should guard against; the enemy is the Capitalist Class. Th[illegible] workers of all lands are your brother[illegible] Vote the Capitalist Class down and out.

The People is a good broom to brush the cobwebs from the minds of the workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

CORRESPONDENCE

[CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.]

PICKETS ARRESTED AS VAGRANTS.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—Enclosed you will find some clippings from the Toledo "Times", as to a strike of the Structural Iron Workers. The men are striking against a reduction of wages of about twenty per cent, and the contractor, Tom Bentley, will do all in his power to beat the men, as you can see by the clippings. I have spoken with the strikers and find that they have been out ten weeks and the work, as any one can see, has been seriously hindered, for they only raised three stories in that time of the proposed skyscraper. The men arrested on Saturday were only doing what hundreds of others are doing daily, and that is, standing around and looking at the building, but they were known as strikers and were arrested as such and fined in court.

The strikers say they will carry the case to the highest court.

The slugging case I cannot find out any more than what is in the clipping, the strikers deny all knowledge of it; in fact, they claim it is a put up job by Bentley to gain the sympathy of the public and get the police more active.

The usual craft struggle is taking place here, the Iron Workers striking and Bricklayers and others working, or in other words, scabbing it in true A. F. of L. style.

A. Gilhaus.

Toledo, O., July 16.

[Enclosures.]

I.

Toledo "Times", July 14.

PICKETS GUILTY.

Of Congregating on Walk Without Lawful Occupation.

Three union men who have been doing "picket" duty for the structural iron workers' union around the new Nicholas building were found guilty of congregating on the sidewalk without lawful occupation by Judge Wachenheimer yesterday morning. They are William Hayman, Edward Hamlin and Jerry Gill. They were arrested on warrants last Saturday.

Frank Mulholland appeared for them and after they were found guilty, he said the case would be fought through the higher courts to the limit. The men were delegated by the union to "picket" the Nicholas building, which is being erected by non-union ironworkers.

II.

Toledo "Times", July 15.

SLUGGERS IMPORTED

To Terrorize Non-Union Workers, Says Contractor.

Another Chapter in Labor Troubles in Connection with Nicholas.

"I have positive information that twenty professional sluggers from Cincinnati and Cleveland were shipped into Toledo yesterday," said Tom Bentley yesterday morning. Mr. Bentley is a member of the firm of A. Bentley & Sons, the contractors who are erecting the Nicholas building.

Benjamin Saunders, a non-union man employed on the Nicholas, was assaulted within a few steps of his home, 1806 Norwood avenue, on Thursday evening, as he was going home from work. Two unknown men did the job.

Mr. Bentley immediately had an advertisement inserted in the papers here, and in Cleveland and Cincinnati offering a reward of $200 for the arrest and conviction of the assailants.

"This is the third time my men have been assaulted", said Mr. Bentley, "and I'm getting sick and tired of it. I am doing my best to protect them. I have asked Mayor Finch and Chief Knapp for protection, and I know they are doing their best, but it's a hard matter to give protection to all the men whose homes are so widely scattered. The men who assaulted Saunders are strangers."

Mr. Bentley did not want to be understood as criticizing either the mayor or the chief of police. He says the city officials can hardly be aware of the seriousness of the matter, and he agrees that they cannot afford a guard for every man at work on the building.

"It is out of the question, however," the mayor said last night, "to send an officer home with each man on the job. We are doing everything we can to see that the men get proper police protection."

CALIFORNIA'S FARM LABORERS

To the Daily and Weekly People.—I write these few lines, touching slightly on the conditions in this State, slightly I say, for to tell the truth would be to fill a book. The affairs that I am about to relate will prove interesting to the readers of The People, but they are so well known here that one thinks no more about them than did the people of the South think about the condition of the Negro slaves during chattel slavery. This, too, despite the fact that the farm hand is even worse off in many respects than was the Negro slave with a good master, especially so in California. Why? Because the Negro people never had to hunt a master, while the farm hand does. The Negroes had their own cabins, which the farm hands in this State have not, except where the climate makes sleeping out of doors out of the question. The California farm hand usually finds a straw stack to shelter him—not a barn. He might let the rats carry off his matches if he slept in a barn, and several thousand tons of hay would go up in smoke, so he is compelled to sleep on the outside. If there is no straw stack handy, he will lie down anywhere. Usually he carries a blanket, as California nights are cool; especially west of the coast range. He probably finds himself in the care of a constable if near a town; otherwise, he wakes up to find at hand red ants, which have staked out most of the plains of California, as their happy hunting grounds. Sleeping on the ground is not liked, because there are more ways than one of getting into trouble. Besides the constables, who make $2.50 a head for every man thus caught, there are rattle snakes, scorpions, and other reptiles and insects to fear.

When our farm hand awakes from his slumbers, perhaps at the nearby creek, he finds other "free" born American wage slaves there, doing their washing. Were it not for the fact that California swarms with "blanket men" or tramps, it would have insufficient farm hands. Here in California, we see many men traveling, or rather, most of them tramping from ranch to ranch, as the fruit and other farms are called, looking for a job. Ranches in this country often include several hundred thousands of acres; in fact, most of the State is owned and controlled by a few landlords owning such ranches. Sometimes a ranch is cut up and sold to people who are trying to pay off their own homes. These people are virtually slaves. The big rancher always tries to do what is right by the hobo, as the farm hand is called. The latter is not denied a square meal, as it is to the big rancher's interests to have him well fed and not overworked. In most of the farming parts of the State, especially among the poorer classes of ranchers, the eight-hour system is in vogue, that is, you work eight hours in the forenoon and eight hours in the afternoon. The hours are long. It is usual for the hobo or the farm hand wage slave to work a few days or weeks and then say, "I'm going to town to-day." "All right", answers the boss. The boss expects it. You will always hear complaints about farm men not being steady. Is there any wonder? He gets quite enough of the coyote ranch in a few weeks. He's only a hobo, a victim of Capitalism.

During the long summer months the danger from fires is great and often results in heavy damages. From June to November everything is as dry as powder.

In California much has been done to enlighten people a great deal on reforms that would be reactionary in effect to the workers, but that are of benefit to the small producers, such as government ownership of the railroads and the like. Through these he may get the markets of the east to his heart's contents, without extra cost to himself. The Populists and the "Socialist" party have both profited from this state of affairs in the matter of votes, while the Socialist Labor Party has suffered. Nevertheless, though the workers have been fooled by reactionary and reform doctrines, they are wiser to-day, and the influences of those doctrines are rapidly vanishing from among our midst.

E. A.

Chatsworth, Cal., July 12.

DE LEON AND "DE LEONISM"—A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I am one of a committee of three appointed by the members of the Industrial Union Club of this city to arrange and manage the lecture, delivered tonight by Comrade De Leon, on "Industrial Unionism," a report of which will perhaps come to you from another source. All I will say about it is that the audience was much larger than any of us expected. The committee of which I was a member consisted of Comrade Young, Socialist Labor Party; Comrade Vaupell, Socialist party, and myself, Socialist party.

I cannot resist the temptation to unburden my mind on the subject of "De Leonism." There was a time when I used this word. But I look back to that time as a period of assdom, and in future I cannot but consider all who use it as occupants of that stage of evolution from which I have emerged. That word in future will be as obnoxious to my ears as it ever has been to the ears of a Socialist Labor Party man.

After the meeting seven of us, De Leon, Eisenburg, (S. L. P.) Young, of the committee, (S. L. P.), his brother (S. L. P.), Vaupel, (S. P.), Trautmann, (S. P.), and myself, (S. P.), adjourned to the Bismark Cafe, opposite the Gibson House, at which De Leon was staying. There, Comrade De Leon filled up on fruit lemonade and smoked good cigars, while the balance of us indulged in the finest imported beer to be had in this city. The proletariat was dead! The sultry atmosphere was made bearable by the noiseless high speed fans. The eye was pleased by as swell interior decorations as the hand of the artisan could fashion, at the behest of the most fastidious prince. For the moment it was as though the revolution had come from our labors and we were about to begin the work of formation, incumbent upon those interested in the inauguration of the co-operative commonwealth.

But alas for this momentary dream of mine, the discordant voice of Trautmann, like the proletarian hammer, falling on the anvil of discontent, awoke me with a start. And then I turned my attention from the decoration to my companions and began to study them. De Leon sat in the center. On his right sat the junior Young, a beardless boy of 18, his eyes noting the features of "the old man," feasting upon them, (I think I am safe in saying), as they never feasted upon that of maid. As I listened to Trautmann and De Leon I watched the face of that boy and if ever I read the word love on human face, I read it there. I next turned to the elder Young. I have known the latter for years. He, too, gazed on the features of he whom he dubbed "the old man," and after whispering into my ear his desire to know my opinion of his "old man," and, receiving it, he poured into that same ear a bunch of compliments for "the old man" so extravagant that I am glad it was not into De Leon's ear they went, and which I will not repeat here, lest they reach the eye of "the old man."

Next to him, or opposite him, was Eisenberg, his eyes divided their attention between De Leon, Vaupell, Trautmann and myself. Those eyes reminded me of the word hawk. In them I plainly read the word hunger. He was starving at those moments for our individual opinion of "the old man" whose loyal disciple he is, and when "the old man" would score a point, those eyes would flash from face to face to read the result and, his face showed the result of the eyes investigation just as does the face when the tongue is touched by sours or sweets.

Then I turned my eyes to the face of Vaupell; this was the hardest task I had. On that face I read the strangest mixture of faith, satisfaction and skepticism I ever saw on the face of man. One moment I would say to myself: he has implicit faith in "the old man"; in the next I would be in doubt, then a smile of satisfaction would overspread his features, and in a moment I again would be in doubt. Vaupell is a hard proposition. I gave him up and turned to Trautmann.

Here is the distinct proletarian cast. It is easy to read. I trace upon that face the story of the rebellious son again looking into the face of his father. That father's face has not lost one single iota of its obdurate expression, but the expression of iron determination on the face of the father is softened by that which seems to say, "let bygones be bygones." This is reflected in the face of Trautmann, and with a self satisfied smile he seems to say "Yea! let bygones be bygones."

I was so infatuated with the study of De Leon's features that I decided to be one of those who accompanied him to Coney Island the next day, where we spent the day together, and I completed my self-imposed task.

Briefly, this is De Leon! A man of as sunny a nature as it has ever been my good fortune to meet. He can tell a comic story with the art of a comedian. He can laugh at one as heartily as a boy. He can make philosophy as amusing as it is instructing. He can turn the point of ridicule, directed against himself into a boomerang, that lambastes his opponent, and do it with ease and grace. He is as broad minded and liberal a man as I have ever met, in all things but one! and that is the class conscious principle. Here he is adamant, as immovable as Gibraltar, "a man of iron." On this question there can be no compromise with him. Discipline at all cost, even though it calls for the tearing of heart cords, must be maintained. Mark you! Not the discipline of De Leon, but the discipline of the organization. I feel constrained to say that it is my honest opinion that if De Leon tomorrow departed one hair's breath from the line of principle in his work as teacher for the organization of which he is a member, the love for De Leon in that moment would die and hate would be kicked out of the organization as ignominously as any that he has been nominiously as any that he has been accused of kicking out.

De Leon is but one of a class conscious body of men who prize that class consciousness above all else! They love, respect and honor De Leon, for that one thing, his devotion to principle, a devotion the chains of which like those of the slavery of love are golden, the only slavery the proletarian will never protest against. In the past I, with many others perhaps, have erred in believing the Socialist Labor Party dominated by the personality of this man. I have looked upon him as a tyrant; as one who had not the patience or the tolerance to listen to an opponent in argument. I find him most tolerant and possessed of an almost infinite amount of patience. I find myself saying the word fanatic is a virtious title when applied to him. And when De Leon is gone there will be much sorrow in his organization, but that organization as the fruit of his untiring efforts, I am convinced, will find it easy, not to replace De Leon, but to continue the work of emancipation, fully capable of taking up the work where he leaves off. The organization he has built up is almost perfect and I am convinced, so far as the goal is concerned, the work of De Leon to the proletariat is invaluable.

And that to the industrial union De Leon will prove the same relentless guardian of principle that he has been to the S. L. P. goes without question.

That I have addressed De Leon as comrade and been by him so addressed, the man whom, a few short months ago, I without hesitation pronounced tyrant, is but another manifestation of evolution.

Fraternally yours,
B. S. Frayne.

Cincinnati, O., July 17.

BOHN IN SAN JOSE.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—National Organizer Bohn's visit to San Jose, Cal., aroused general interest in Socialism. He addressed six street meetings and on the afternoon of July 2 delivered a lecture on "Socialism, Trade and Labor Unions." The "Dollars and cents" "patriots" had advertized a big celebration to take place at St. James' Park July 4, and had provided a platform for speakers, also seats for about 600 persons. The platform and seats had been finished a few days previous, however, and we utilized them both to the evident satisfaction of about 400 people who saw the point and were tickled at our having beaten out the "dollars and cents" forever "patriots." He held two meetings at Santa Clara. Comrades Zimmer and Mercadier assisting him. The meetings as a whole were satisfactory. Subscriptions to the Weekly People were obtained, while quite a few pamphlets were disposed of and leaflets distributed. A number of sympathizers and members of the "Socialist" party are awakening and in time will become Socialist Labor Party men. Section Santa Clara County proposes to keep up agitational work with local and outside speakers. The time is ripe. Strike while the iron is hot.

S. L. P.

San Jose, Cal., July 14.

JERRY O'TOOLE ON SOCIALIST DISTURBANCES OF TRADE.

Edyter Dailey Peeple:

Dear Sor:—For the pasht fautnit ive bene hard at wurk shtudeen soshil an ether problims. Kollectin evidinse bothe for an aginsht soshilism tuk up sum av me toime, an now, wid aul the argymints at hand, ile proosade to make anether pint aginsht yere wickid dockthrins an ayshtablish the fact that me originil opinnon av ye was korrect. Very loikly ye noe wot that is.

Av coorse yere awaire that for sum toime pasht ive bene idel, at lashte ye aute to noe, an onely for the fact that a charitibel inshtithushin (an althoo i hait to admit id, a prodishtint inshithushin at that) cums to the rayleef av mesel an famely, i say onely for that fact, the chansis is ide be onabil to conduct anny inveshitgashins at all at all. An there is siviril ether loike casis in the sthreet whare i raysoid, an yit we see no attimpt med be the soshilishts to put anny av ther boashts into pracktickil wurkin ordhir. Av coorse ye cant do id, bud id givs yere vokill orgins exirsise to tauk at a supirshtithis croud apon a sthreet cornir, meerly makin the aire so mutch hother an rindhirin id the more dangiress for daysint peeple as they pass.

Now i hav a sthrong case aginsht ye this toime, an aulthoo id tuk me sum days to kollect the evidinse, shtill i fele that im wel raypade for me wurk. Me inveshtigashins brout me in kontact wid peeple prominint in susitey, an wan in purticklir, an ould frind av moin who shtands hoie in Bronx politicks an who noes aul the grate min av the burroo, an besoids he ounes a reyspicktibil jin mill doune a soid sthreet, he hellood to me wan day as i was passin, an shlappin me an the back famellyer loike sez, sed he:

"Misther O'toole allou me to kongrathilate ye an the gallint foit yere makin aginsht soshilism; ye hav me harty support an cowopirashin at aul toims, an ye shud hav the saim from aul pathriatik an lile cityzens. They tel me yere carryin the foit into the inimees camp an evin cumpellin um to foir the boms aginsht umsels, an if ye can kepe id up widout poeleese inthirferinse the chansis is yeel run um out av the cunthry widin a munth."

Whin i ashured im that id wud giv me grate pleshir to do so, an hintid that as he had sich a big pull wid the min hoier up, he moit spake to the captin av the disthrict in me behaff, he promished to do so an contined is discoorse, sez he:

"Mosht iviry wan noes that sinse soshilism bekem a part av our politicks iviry thing is gon to the dogs; bissiniss is no longir conductid as id used to be, commirshil failyers is av dailey ackurrinse, in fact we see aul the ramyfackashins av guvirnmint conductid widout raysthraint, syshtim er methid.

"Luckid me oun bissiniss for inshtinse, there is to manny ingaiged into id; loisinses shud be raished mutch hoir an that wud forse out a gud manny chape shkates wot shud be airnin an onisht livin be the pick er the shuvil. Do the soshilisrts propoose anny rimidy for me? i havint heerd av wan. Fifty yeer ago those sad an disploribel faythurs av our presint susiety wor onnoen in the land, bud there was no tauk av soshilism in those days to dishturb the pase av the peeple. See the grate forthins that wor bilt up sinse those days, bud who wud be so rash as to say that the saim can be dun nowadays? No, me frinds, soshilism has shtopped aul furthir chansis av indeeveedul enthirprois whareivir id has gaind a futhould."

"Bedad ids thru for ye, as id is mesel has rayshin to noe," sed a daysint luckin mon wot jusht kem in.

"Now thin," raysumed me frind, "iviry pathriatick cityzen'll be forshed to rayilize soonir er latir that presint condishins, if alloud to kontinoo, 'll lade to a shtate av anorky, an you, an I an manny ether nobil sperrithid cityzens is shure to be swallid up in the runes. We musht do sumthin, an do id quickly, if we wud eshkape the fate av those wot shtud in the way av sighinse an progress; in planir wurds, we musht prepare for the cumin moonisipil campain here in the Bronx."

Be this toime a large crowd was in the siloon, an they aul agreed wid me frind an hartilly applawdid im for is nobil sintimints.

"Fill um up there Jimmy." This was sed gudnathirly to the bartindhir, an as we aul nue wot id ment we pushed up closir to the bar, an me frind, ladin off wid is favirit brand, raysumed is discoorse, he said:

"The soshilishts, in ordhir to rimidy our evils, wud gobble up aul branshis av industhry an opirate um kollectively, an that in sich a way that iviry abel bodid mon wud wurk onely two er three ours a day, an that he wud git aul he produshed in those cupple av ours, an thin he cud go an play er loaf, er go in for wickid amusemints the resht av the day, aul to the dangir av is sowl. Swiped aul he airnd moind ye, an left nothin for no wan else an thin injoid imsel the balinse av the day! Did anny wan ivir heer av sich gaul?"

We aul yunitid in saying that sich a syshtim wud be onjusht an wickid. Whin the glassis wor agin rayplinished me frind wint an, sed he:

"Thin the childher, the milluns av childher wot is now wurkin an helpin ther payrints to support um an, at the saim toime, makin large profitts for ther masthers—aul these wud hav to quit ther jobs an go to skule until the agis av 18 er 20 yeers, larnin the hoir branshis av eddykashun, an fansy thrades er prufeshins, an loafin around in playgrounds an jimmynashims in sinfull pashtoimes an pleshirs. Jusht think av id me frinds: was id ivir noen in the histhiry av the Bronx—i mane the wurld, was ivir sich nonsinse an wickidniss heerd afore?"

Nun av ez cud raymimbir annything loike id in our toime, so me frind continnid, sed he:

"The milluns av wimin wot is to-day wurkin in landhrees, mills an fackthurees helpin support ther husbinds an little uns, wud be cumpelled undher soshilism to raymain at home takin care av the childher. An me frinds, d'ye compreehind the enarrmiss loss to the cunthry, the privinshin av these wimin to airn ther livin wud be?"

We aul gev signils av compreehinshun, an had the glassis filled agin, an me frind raysumed, sed he:

"Ye now see the presint condishuns in the Bronx, id is this way: wurk is so plintyfull that evin the mothirs an childher is helpin to run the wheels av industhry; the wurkinmon has more leshir toime to imsel thin he ivir had afore; beer is plintyfull an chape, bud bissiniss is not wot id aut to be heer in the Bronx. Sumthin is radickilly rong. Thers to mutch soshilisht dishturbinse in this burroo, thats id me frinds, that whats the mather. Thers a hole lot av thim dishturbirs wel noen to mesel; ye can see um be the hundhards thravelin throo the sthreets av the Bronx, warin a red buttin, an who ivir sawd um paythrinisin rayspicktibel thradesmin loike mesel? No, me frinds, they shteer shoy av ez as if we wor the plaig. There wurse nor the prohibishinishts."

Be this toime there was a numbir av wel noen rayspicktibel min in the plase includin a rail eshtate agint, a dockthir, a lawyeer, an oicemon an sum raccin sports an a priesht wot kem in to make sum kolleckshins for the houly church, an aul av um set up the dhrinks in ther turrin, an id was yunanimussly egreed that me frinds impaichemint av soshilism was the besht yit attimptid.

Me frind koncludid be sayin that he was glad i, mesel, pasht that way as id gev im sich a splindid chanst to roasht the soshilishts, not to minshun the grate bissiniss wot was dun an the primissis in the manetoime, an thin bene eggsawshtid from taukin he fell ovir in a faint. This calamaty cawshd a littel cumoshin, bud the priesht an dockthir who was be is soide immaydatlee, ashoored ez that id was onely a case av ovirhatein an that hede be aul roit in no toime. The lawyeer wantid to make shure av this, an the oiceman segeshtid puttin im in a large box fill av broken oice. The rail eshtate agint spoak to the bartindhir who sed, rale mad, that he cud do nothin until the boss raycovired. He ivinthelly did raycovir, nixsht day, an mesel cauled to see im an promished im faithfully that ide yuse is spaich in this lether to the publick.

Yours thruly,
Jerry O'toole.

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

A. G. L., NEW YORK CITY—We would not class John Ruskin as "a bona-fide or revolutionary Socialist." Like Carlyle, Ruskin is an idealogist in revolt against the brutal and degrading "democracy" and individualism of capitalism. Like "the sage of Chelsea," he turned toward Feudalism, with its domination of the overlord, its reciprocal rights and duties, and its handicrafts. On these he builded a sort of medieval communism. Much of Ruskin's critical and ethical utterances against capitalism are of great value; he failed constructively. His "Fors Clavigera," "Sesame and Lillies," "Ethics of the Dust," "The Crown of Wild Olive," are a few of his works that will enable you to understand his attitude more fully.

E. S., OGDEN, UTAH—Your efforts in our behalf are very much appreciated. As for the other matter, your experience will enable you to judge the man with whom you are dealing. Treat him accordingly.

J. D., SYRACUSE, N. Y.—Pay no attention to the clergymen who say Socialism is devoid of idealism and morality, when the idealism and morality of Socialism consists in striving for a system of social interests and co-operation that will abolish the present system of class interests and exploitation, thereby making the Golden Rule a living fact, instead of, as at present, a regretable impossibility. Clergymen hug the dogmas of idealism and morality so closely that they fail to realize that they have crushed out their essence, when applying them.

L. H., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—The part played by Lucien Sanial in the "logical centre" episode was that of a badly-informed sponsor and leader—of a man too long out of intimate touch with party affairs to act fairly and well. The part he is playing now is that of organizer of the Karl Marx Educational Clubs, and scientific-Socialist contributor-extraordinary to Berger's anti-scientific-Socialist and pro-Hearstian sheet.

M. S., CHICAGO, ILL.—Regret you couldn't undertake to act as requested. Your suggestion has been acted on. Await answer.

W. T., SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS—What can the Texan workingmen do to overcome the disfranchisement of the poll tax, and gain control of the political powers of the State? They can do what the workingmen of Russia (who have never enjoyed enfranchisement and realize its value better than the American workingmen), are doing in their efforts to secure civil and political rights: they can organize in the shops, mill and mine, on the railroads, everywhere throughout the State, and through strikes obtain the coveted ballot and political power. That this is a practical method Russia is demonstrating and Belgium a decade or two ago proved beyond doubt, for it was through this method that the workingmen of Belgium secured the political advantages they now possess. What Russia is doing and Belgium has done, can also be achieved here, if the workingmen go about it with the same spirit, determination and clearness of aim.

H. J. B., FLORENCE, COL.—Don't be bashful. Send along the remainder of your impressions.

T. C., CINCINNATI, O.—Your desires are running away with your reason. "The anarchistic element dominated the convention of the Industrial Workers of the World"; and "the convention shows that economic action alone is sufficient"??!! Is the organization of labor according to the concentration of industry, instead of craft, anarchy? Or, to put it another way: does anarchy stand for concentrated organization or decentralized organization? Does the statement in the preamble adopted by the convention that the class struggle must go on "until all the toilers come together on the POLITICAL as well as on the industrial field," prove that the convention shows that economic action alone is sufficient? The convention was not one-sided in principle. It recognized that united action on both the political and the economic fields is necessary. Being an economic body, it believed its duty consisted in developing unity on the industrial field first, leaving unity on the political field to develop as a logical corollary later. It is this unpleasant fact that makes "pure and simple" Socialists like yourself show whither your desires tend, though reason would fain not follow after.

I. S., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—It would be better if you, who are better informed therein, would compile the matter and then send it to us for editing and publishing. Editors are far from being omniscient: there are a few things they do not know; but, having a grasp of certain principles, they can render themselves helpful to those who know what they don't.

J. C. B., DICKSON CITY, PA.; H. F., CINCINNATI, O.; E. B. F., FARIBAULT, MINN.; W. O'B., DUBLIN, IRELAND; F. D. W., GIRARD, KANSAS; H. U., SAGINAW, MICH.; "FRIEND," FALL RIVER, MASS.; J. S. K., Jr., RICHMOND, VA.; W. N., NEW YORK CITY; C. R., TAMPA, KAN.; W. S., WATERVLIET, N. Y.; J. R. C., KALISPELL, MONT.; P. F., GIJON, SPAIN; H. B. H., LONG BRANCH, N. J.—Matter received.

CHICAGO STENOGRAPHIC FUND.

Previously acknowledged........	$311.10
T. Powers, Chicago, Ill.........	.50
A. Bergquist, New Britain, Conn..	.50
E. Lind, New Britain, Conn.....	.25
M. Berman, New Britain, Conn...	.25
H. Nelson, New Britain, Conn...	.25
A. Naphthalin, New Britain, Conn	.25
A. Zeiterman, New Britain, Conn.	.25
A. Salstrum, New Britain, Conn.	.25
Scandinavian Debating Club, New Britain, Conn..............	.35
J. Brown, New Britain, Conn...	.25
J. D. Carlson, New Britain, Conn.	.25
A. Anderson, Port Angeles, Wash.	1.00
L. Hoffman, Jacksonville, Ill., ..	25
G. Koenig, Greeley, Pa., ...	1.10
T. Johnson, Canton, O.	25
G. McKay, Canton, O.	25
C. Spielman, Canton, O.	25
A. Rice, Canton, O.	10
E. C. H., Vineyard Haven, Mass.	25
D. Horwitz, New York City	50
F. Triumph, New York City	25
34th A. D. New York City	1.15
Total	$310.80

BASKET PICNIC, MILWAUKEE

Section Milwaukee will hold its annual basket picnic on August 6 at Castalia Park. Castalia Park can be reached by Wells street car to Hawley road, where party members will be present to escort the friends to the park, which is but a few blocks away.

The committee has made all the arrangements which assure all a splendid time. Come early; take your friends along, and enjoy yourself.

COLUMBUS HEADQUARTERS.

Section Columbus has opened headquarters in the Wesley Block, 101 North afternoons. Workingmen are invited. High street, room 66. Open all the time.

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, P. O. Box 380, London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

N. E. C. SUB-COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting of the N. E. C. Sub-Committee held on Friday, July 21, at the Daily People Building, with T. Walsh in the chair. Present: Bahnsen, Crawford, Kinneally, Olson, Walsh, Teichlauf and Eck. Absent with excuse: Gillhaus and Katz, both out on agitation tour and Moren, Lechner, Burke and Hossack. Absent without excuse: Donohue and Anderson.

Minutes of previous meeting approved as read.

Financial report for week ending July 8 showed receipts, $59.40, expenditures, $130.32; for week ending July 15, receipts, $109.90, expenditures, $95.16.

Party Press Committee reported upon the communication from Section New York referred to them. They recommended that the present arrangement of charging two cents for the catalogue booklet remain, as the question resolves itself into one of finances, and the management cannot afford to issue it gratis. Report concurred in.

Communications:—From Louisville, Ky., stating that Arnold and five others decided to withdraw from the Socialist party in a body and join the Socialist Labor Party. From Brimble, Florence, Colo., showing encouraging and hopeful signs for the movement in Colorado and discussing various plans to take advantage of them; also announcing the removal of the seat of the State Committee to Grand Junction. From Haller, Los Angeles, Cal., enclosing charter application for Alameda County, the sum of $22—for sundry items and expressing the hope to be able to follow up Comrade Bohn's good work and reap the fruit which he has sown. From F. Zierer, New Brunswick, N. J., relating circumstances culminating in the loss of his job brought about by the influence and pressure exerted by his union upon his employer, caused by his activity for Socialism and exposures of the labor fakirs. From Schenectady, N. Y., regarding preparations and arrangements made for the De Leon meeting. From Allegheny County, suggestions for new application cards, constitutions and other similar matter. From Secretary Texas State Committee relating their experiences with correspondents through the Correspondence Bureau, showing difficulties to be surmounted in their efforts to extend the organization and hoping that the new industrial union movement will create new interest. From Shaynin upon the Chicago convention. From Pennsylvania State Committee, information that they intend to put two canvassers in the field. From Stromquist, criticizing Party's attitude on recent events and taking exception to De Leon's position toward industrial unionism. From Organizer Katz, reporting upon his meetings in several New York State towns with fairly good results, securing a number of Weekly People subscriptions and hoping to organize a Section in Binghamton. The interference of the chief of police at one of the meetings added largely to its success. From Organizer Bohn, reporting upon a number of towns visited by him, including San Jose, Vallejo and South Cruz, Cal., resulting in the usual good sale of literature and subscriptions secured for the Weekly People. From Organizer B. H. Williams, giving itinerary, including cities as far out as Spokane, Wash., and reporting upon his work in Butte and Helena, Mont. A communication from a Socialist party member enclosed with his report, shows a growing spirit of disaffection going on in that party and the demoralization of its membership throughout the State. From Section Philadelphia, resolutions demanding that the Daily People containing the stenographic report of the Chicago convention be sent free of charge to all those who have subscribed in the hope of getting that report during the one month, also expressing indignation at the new call for funds to cover the expenses of the stenographic report which in their opinion is unwarranted. Regarding the first part of the resolutions the management has already taken action looking to a satisfactory settlement of the case; as to the latter part the Section is absolutely unjustified in its criticism, the latter being mere assumption and unsubstantiated by facts.

Sections Hoboken, St. Paul, New Haven and Columbus reported election of officers.

One application for member-at-large received from Charles Scurlock, of Canyon Ferry, Mont., former member of Socialist party; accepted.

One application for charter received from Alameda County, Cal.; granted.

Adjournment.

Wm. Teichlauf, Secretary pro-tem.

CONNECTICUT S. E. C.

Regular meeting at S. L. P. Hall, Hartford, July 9. Chas. Fantone in the chair. New Britain absent. On motion the reading of minutes of last meeting was dispensed with.

The following comrades presented credentials as delegates to the State Committee from their respective sections: Chas. Fantone, Kensington; J. Brewer and F. Fellerman, Hartford; E. Sherman, Rockville. Credentials were accepted and delegates were obligated and seated.

The following officers were then elected: State secretary and treasurer, F. Fellerman; recording secretary, E. Sherman.

Correspondence:—From New Britain, forwarding $2.40 for dues and vote on per capita proposition; also asking that some one be sent with Chicago Manifesto at a meeting to be held by Pattern Makers; attended to by secretary. From Moosup, sending $2.25 collected for Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. From Rockville, $4.00 for same purpose.

Several letters from National Secretary H. Kuhn, answering to inquiries made by secretary forwarding receipts for money received, etc. From O'Neil, Providence, R. I., informing that their excursion was successful and giving other information. Inquiries in answer to permanent organizer, came in from Lahey, J. Connolly, H. Behrens and J. E. Alexander. Attended to by secretary.

From Jos. Marek, reporting proceedings of the N. E. C. meeting. Correspondence was received and filed.

Treasurer's report received as follows: On hand, June 1, $133.67; income for June, $15.34; total, $149.01. Expenses for June, $20.50; on hand July 15, $128.51.

The matter of permanent organizer was again taken up and secretary instructed to communicate with Comrade McDermott and others about same.

Adjournment followed.

E. Sherman, Secretary.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

During the week ending with Saturday, July 22, the following contributions have been received for the above fund:

W. Williams, Detroit, Mich. ..	$ 25
Section Louisville, Ky., per D. De Leon	15.00
"Sympathizer," Butte, Mont., per B. H. Williams	3.75
Frank Lightfoot, Bisbee, Ariz.	1.00
Section Indianapolis, Ind., per D. De Leon	14.00
E. J. Powell, Newport News, Va.	50
Edward Schade, Newport News, Va.	2.00
Section St. Louis, Mo., per D. De Leon	14.00
John M. Howard, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
Total	$ 51.50
Previously acknowledged ..	$ 978.93
Grand total	$1,030.43

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

ORGANIZER WILLIAMS' DATES

In the States of Montana, Washington and Idaho.

Havre, Mont.—July 28-29.

Kalispell, Mont.—July 30-August 5.

Spokane, Wash.—August 6-19.

Coeur d'Alene region, Idaho—August 20-30.

Missoula, Mont., and vicinity—August 31 to September 9.

BASKY'S RETURN TOUR.

The Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation has arranged the following tour for Comrade Basky, on his return from San Francisco, Cal.:

July 28-August 28—Cleveland and vicinity.

August 29,—Youngstown, O.

August 30—Steubenville, O.

August 31-October 6—Pittsburg, Pa.

Following this, Basky will tour the rest of the State of Pennsylvania to organize in towns where Hungarian workingmen reside.

Basky will speak for the Socialist Labor Party and the Industrial Workers of the World, in the Hungarian language. He is an able speaker. Comrades, give him a helping hand.

NEWARK CONCERT AND PICNIC.

Section Essex County, Socialist Labor Party, will hold a concert and picnic on Saturday, July 29, at Albert Wagner's Park and Hall (formerly Seifert's), 403 Fairmount avenue, corner Springfield avenue, Newark, N. J.

A report of the Chicago Industrial Convention will be given by Samuel J. French, president United Railway Workers, from 3 to 6 p. m. Dancing at 6.30 p. m.

Admission 15 cents.

CHICAGO S. T. & L. A. DELEGATES FUND.

Previously acknowledged........	$518.49
George A. Koenig, Greeley, Pa..	1.00
28th A. D., S. L. P., New York..	1.25
Hungarian Branch, S. L. P., N. Y.	6.70
Scandinavian Socialist Club, Boston, Mass..........................	25.00
Total............................	$552.44

NEW UNION ACTIVE

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS HOLD AGITATION MEETINGS IN MILWAUKEE AND CHICAGO.

Recruits Gained in Both Cities—Debs Writes Letter Saying Progressive Unionists Are Tired of Supporting Capitalist Unionism — Headquarters Opened in the Windy City.

Milwaukee, July 23.—A mass meeting under the auspices of the Industrial Workers of the World was held on Saturday night, July 22, at Liedertafel Hall. Much enthusiasm was displayed. The speakers, Sherman, president, and Trautmann, secretary-treasurer of the new industrial union, were listened to with rapt attention and were frequently interrupted by applause.

Frederick Cramer presided at the meeting. He read the following letter from Eugene V. Debs:

Terre Haute, Ind., July 20, 1905.—Dear Brother Sherman: It will be impossible for me to attend the Milwaukee meeting on account of other engagements. I hope you may have a large attendance, and I am sure there will be no lack of enthusiasm. The Industrial Workers as an industrial organization meets the demand of the time, and I have not the least doubt of its success.

The progressive unionists of the country are tired of supporting a labor union in the interest of the Capitalist Class and it is quite natural that they all flock to the standard of the Industrial Workers.

Sherman spoke first. The vivid picture he threw upon the canvas of thought revealed the rottenness of the system and the corruption of the labor fakir. The labor fakir was lashed unmercifully and his "principles", those of the old style trades unions, were dissected with the skill of one who knows what he is talking about. The aim of the new movement was also explained.

Trautmann followed, and spoke both in English and German. The result of the meeting was that about fifty joined the Industrial Workers' Club. Thus, the ground has been broken for a movement that is destined to supplant the old style trades unions.

Among those who are most active in the formation of the Industrial Workers of the World is the Social Democrat Rooney. Must not Berger feel bad to see his friend trying to take the ground from under his feet?

Our comrade Wilke, and our friend Sims, a former member of the Central Committee of the Social Democratic party, will address an open air meeting at the corner of Grand avenue and Second street on August 5.

Be active, boys, and push the good work.

Chicago, July 22.—The Industrial Workers' Club No. 1 of Chicago, which sent delegates to the Industrial Union Convention and which became installed into the Industrial Workers of the World, along with the other organized bodies, has become a potent factor as an organizing instrument and has engaged spacious headquarters at 3637 State street, where regular meetings will be held every Friday evening for the discussion of the subject of Industrial Unionism and for the installation of new members into the general organization.

Last Wednesday evening a large meeting was held at Fifty-third and Ashland, where Thomas J. Hagerty, Oscar Neebe and others spoke, and succeeded in getting the names of quite a number of workers who are ready and willing to join the organization immediately.

We have also held several hall and street meetings, at each of which we have received many names of those who intend to join.

The Industrial Workers' Club has doubled its membership since the convention and expects to accomplish great results from now on, as we have in the organization men who know what Industrial Unionism is, how to explain it to the Working Class and how to organize them after it is explained to them.

The object of this letter is to impress upon the members the necessity of forming themselves into clubs for agitation and organization work for the economic organization and carry it on vigorously.

The new members can be gotten into the clubs; their dues remitted to the general secretary through the officers of the club, and thus we may be able not only to increase the strength of the Industrial Workers of the World, but will also be in a position to educate the new recruits and train them to work and fight according to the rules of the general organization.

Yours for the overthrow of wage slavery,

Mark Bartlett, Secretary.

DE LEON IN BRADDOCK.

Flays Capitalist Outposts of All Shades In His Usual Inimitable Style.

Braddock, Pa., July 23.—In this neck o' the woods last evening, Comrade Daniel De Leon laid out, in his usual inimitable style, the outposts of Capitalism of all shades. To say the least, his lecture was a masterpiece, in point of argument. When he applies his analysis in his plain and able way, before an audience like the one he had in Braddock last evening, who received every word with close attention, we are sure that nothing but good can be the result to our cause of such a scholarly exposition of the Industrial Unionism of the World. It will not only help us to wipe away the odium resulting from the ridiculous stand taken by the pure and simple "Socialists", but it also enables us to completely unhorse those unclean henchmen of Gompers and the capitalist class, the "Volkszeitung" Kangaroos. That was seen clearly by all present.

The capitalist Republican campaign poster, "Uncle Sam's Balance Sheet," with which De Leon illustrated his lecture, made it so plain that the capitalist class will clothe falsehood in the garb of truth, that it was appreciated by all who kept awake and listened. As is the case on so many similar occasions, one of the "Volkszeitung" Kangaroos slept most of the time. When the floor was thrown open for questions, he arose in his seat, and said, "I am an alte sochilist von der old coundry. Vat you wants mit you new Yunion? Old yunions, dats vat it vas". Comrade De Leon made clear to those present the conditions in Germany and contrasted them with American conditions in such a way that it was easily seen that the stand taken by our friend, the Kangaroo, did not apply.

All were satisfied with the answers. We sold quite a number of pamphlets and gave away a lot of leaflets. All in all, the meeting was a success in every way. The collection was a liberal one, amounting to $13.93. The hall was filled. We opened at 8 sharp and continued to 10.40. Keep it up, comrades.

JERE L. SULLIVAN, LABOR CZAR

Continued from page one.)

money in bank or on bonds as herein provided, and fines specified in these laws."

This removes every vestige of local autonomy the local unions may have enjoyed and centralizes all the power of the organization into the hands of Jere L. The largest portion of the members belong to locals having a membership of fifty and over and only twenty-five per cent. of the gross receipts is allowed such locals for hall rent, stationary, salaries, etc. Twenty-five per cent. out of twenty cents per week is five cents per member per week, or about twenty-one cents per month. Such members as have taken an active part in their respective locals where from fifty cents to one dollar dues has been charged, allowing from thirty-five to eighty-five cents per member to carry on the affairs of the locals will appreciate the fact that the local dues will have to be increased over the twenty cents per week to cover the deficiency, amounting to about thirty to forty cents weekly dues. Fifteen cents out of every member's dues per week go into the coffers of Jere L., and when the fines, assessments, the exorbitant reinstatement fees, etc., are considered, that will bring the average per capita paid to his majesty close to twenty cents per week per member. On page 79 of the convention proceedings of 1905, you'll find that after the donation of $1,000 to R. A. Callahan had been carried, Jere L. Sullivan stated that there were no funds to draw the $1,000 from, consequently a special three cents assessment was levied. If this proposed constitution is ratified, the recurrence of such an embarrassing position to Jere L., will be avoided, unless they find ways and means to make raids upon the funds of the International Union in proposition to the possibilities provided therein, which is a matter for conjecture. This constitution will undoubtedly be ratified, as long as Jere L. has control.

"SECTION 105.

"Sec. 105. No local union shall be permitted to declare a strike unless there is at least two ($2.00) dollars per capita in the private fund of the local."

After the International Union has practically taken the resources of the local union by these constitutional means, there is very little chance of such union that desires to declare a strike from ever accumulating even 50 cents per capita, much less $2. As not many locals will ever be in a position to declare a strike, Jere L. needs to pay no strike benefits. One of the effective weapons of organized labor is thereby curtailed instead of strengthened.

"INTERNATIONAL AUDITORS.

"Sec. 122. The General Executive Board shall semi-annually select three unions within a radius of 300 miles of the General Office. The unions so selected shall elect one member each to constitute the International Auditing Committee. An expert accountant, whose choice shall rest with the bonding company that furnishes the bonds of the General Secretary-Treasurer, shall assist the said auditing committee in its labors. Their findings shall be printed in the official journal. The books shall be audited for the terms ending March 31 and September 30 of each year. The Auditing Committee shall receive five ($5.00) dollars per diem and transportation to and from the general headquarters. The expert accountant, as well as the auditors, to be paid by the International Union. No member of the International Union shall be elected on the above committee more than once in any one year."

The General Executive Board authorizes the expenditure of a large proportion of the International funds. They, having the power to select the locals that elect the auditors, will naturally not select any local that might elect some inquisitive member, that would endanger the welfare of the office holding clique. They want to audit their own accounts, without having it appear as such.

"SECTION 124.

"The journal shall be issued monthly under the direct supervision of the General Executive Board, who shall act in the capacity of "associate editors." And the Secretary-Treasurer shall have the power to censor all matter for publication."

The Czar of Russia employs an official censor, but Jere L. cannot trust any one else with such an important function. One part of the "Mixer and Server" is called the "Forum", which means a public platform where every member's views are tolerated. Every member's views will be tolerated after same have been blue penciled by the censor, or coincide with the censor's views.

SOME ITEMS IN THE JUNE, 1905, "MIXER AND SERVER":

J. C. Dernell, revising constitution, (May 2, 1905)..........	$100.00
J. C. Dernell, balance (May 19, 1905)	14.75

Who is J. C. Dernell? A cigar manufacturer, an employer of labor. Was he a delegate to the convention? Did the general president appoint an outsider as a committee of one to revise the constitution? Could the general president select no representative committee from the delegates to the convention who were competent to revise their own constitution? Did Jere L. get any commission out of that $114.75? Don't ask any questions, that is conduct unbecoming a union man. You are liable to be expelled! You are only entitled to pay your dues.

(1905.)

May 2, F. Bauman, organizer...	$100.00
May 13, Ditto Ditto...	100.00
May 20, Ditto Ditto...	25.00
May 3, R. Hesket, G. E. B. meeting	75.00
May 13, R. Hesketh, G. E. B. meeting	96.50
May 2, Convention badges......	115.70
May 22, R. A. Callahan, balance of account....................	115.00
May 10, T. J. Sullivan.........	300.00
May 31, Jere L. Sullivan, convention expenses, transportation, committee rooms, telegrams, baggage, etc..................	83.80

Was all this money spent for the best interest of the Labor Movement? Perhaps the beneficiaries consider themselves the Labor Movement. Do you think that the interests of the rank and file can be advanced while we have such a lot on our backs?

Ex-President Callahan was suspended from office by Jere L. Sullivan because Local 77 of which Callahan is a member became in arrears for dues. In the secretary-treasurer's report, page 21, you will find a recommendation to strike out Section 4, Article 10, of our present constitution which reads as follows:

"Should all unions represented in the city where the International office is located become in bad standing, then the secretary-treasurer shall notify all locals affiliated with the International Union that they may take action in regard to moving headquarters, and they shall be located wherever the majority of the locals may designate."

Jere L. uses a lot of glittering generalities about the enforcement of the laws, etc., but he desires to be exempt from the operation of that law. If a general president can be suspended from office because the local of which he is a member becomes in arrears to the International Union, a secretary-treasurer ought also be suspended from office when the local of which he is a member becomes in arrears. The objectionable clause has been stricken out. The rumor that the office of secretary-treasurer is hereditary and will revert to his first born offspring, similar to the royal families of Europe, is unfounded, and I have no idea where such a rumor could have originated.

It would be quite appropriate for Jere L. Sullivan to appoint his uncles, aunts, mother-in-law and cousins as organizers, and his babies, if he has any, as office clerks, a la Equitable. The existence of conditions described can only be attributed to either negligence or a servile spirit prevailing among the members, and such conditions will obtain as long as the membership is willing to submit to same.

Fraternally yours,

San Francisco, Cal., July 14.

I. Shenkan.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES.

One hundred and eighty-six subscriptions to the Weekly People and forty-three to the Daily People were received during the week ending Saturday, July 22. Newsdealers in and out of New York City have increased their orders for the Daily People and these orders are not included in the above figures.

Five or more subscriptions to the Weekly People were secured by the following: T. F. Dugan and Pat Driscoll, Bisbee, Ariz., 17; Fred Brown, Cleveland, O., 9; August Gilhaus, Toledo, O., 9; J. T. Walsh, San Francisco, Cal., 8; Carl Oberheu Milwaukee, Wis., 7; Frank Bohn, California, 6; D. L. Munro, Portsmouth, Va., 6; M. Biell, St. Louis, Mo., 5; R. Guhl, Grand Island, Neb, 5; There are a great many comrades who send in less than five, but these are not acknowledged in this column.

The Stenographic Report of the Chicago Industrial Union Convention Beban in the Daily People Monday, July 24. We can generally supply back numbers, but suggest that subscriptions be sent in so as to reach us as early as possible. Every comrade and every one who is interested in Industrial Unionism should subscribe for the Daily People in order to get the proceedings of this Convention in full. There is no other way to get it. By mail, one month, 40 cents; three months, $1; six months; $2; one year, $3.50.

We have received a letter asking what makes the expense of the Chicago stenographic report so high. Let it be stated at the outset, that it was believed that the financial co-operation of the Convention could be secured. When this was seen to be unfeasible, we assumed the entire expense. This consists, first, in paying the stenographer seven and a half dollars a day for noting down the proceedings. Second, 35 cents per typewritten page of about 250 words, for transcribing them. It is this latter that is the biggest and most expensive part of the job. These charges are not exorbitant. They are those usually paid a competent stenographer; and we could not afford to pay any other. Time will prove the expenditure a good one. Let us all co-operate in raising the required amount.

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

The Sections and members are now doing well. The week's business was good.

"John Mitchell Exposed" has been a good seller. Since it was published we have sold over 3000 copies. San Francisco's order last week called for 100 copies of it, and 250 other pamphlets; also a copy of Marx's Capital. The Pennsylvania State Executive Committee bought a large number of pamphlets, some cloth bound books and 1000 leaflets, amounting in all to $10.05 worth. F. Schade, Socialist Literature agent, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., bought 100 "John Mitchell Exposed." Braddock, Pa., took 100 "Burning Question of Trades Unionism"; 50 "Erin's Hope" and 50 "John Mitchell Exposed." Comrade Kern, New Orleans, bought 50 copies "Reform or Revolution" and 50 "What Means This Strike?". Comrade Dreyer of Logansport, Ind., also bought 100 pamphlets: 50 "Strikes" and 50 "Burning Question." Section Allegheny County, Pa., ordered literature to the amount of $3.50 worth. Buffalo bought 75 copies "John Mitchell Exposed" and 25 "Burning Question." Syracuse took 50 pamphlets; the Twenty-eighth Assembly District, New York, took 50 pamphlets; and Los Angeles, Cal., took 50, and one bronze button. Section Montreal bought $1.50 worth of assorted literature. Comrade Shaw of Tonopah, Nev., took $1 worth. Comrade Muhlberg, San Pedro, Cal., bought two gold emblem rings and 25 "Reform or Revolution." Two thousand "Chicago Manifesto' were ordered by Section Rochester, N. Y. Comrade Farrel of Lowell, Mass., bought 1 "Gold Sickle" and 1 "Infant's Skull" by Eugene Sue; also some other literature. The Hungarian Branch, Milwaukee, ordered 50 emblem buttons. Comrade De Shazer of Montrose, Colo., sent for a copy of Marx's "Capital." One hundred and twenty-five assorted pamphlets were ordered by the Ohio State Executive Committee for State Organizer Gilhaus.

Thus, after awaiting the result of the Chicago Industrial Convention our work has begun and begun well. Now let us become even more active.

FURNISHED ROOMS.

Fourteenth Street, 211 East—Neatly furnished rooms, large or small, for rent. J. E. Alexander.

SECTION CALENDAR.

(Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements, at a nominal rate. The charge will be one dollar per line per year.)

Kings County General Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m. at Weber's Hall, corner of Throop avenue and Stockton street, Brooklyn.

General Committee, New York County—Second and fourth Saturday in the month, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Offices of Section New York County at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Los Angeles, California. Section headquarters and public reading room at 205½ South Main street. Public educational meetings every Sunday evening. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

San Francisco, Calif., S. L. P. headquarters and free reading room, No. 280 Jessie street. Open day and evening All wage workers cordially invited.

Section Chicago, S. L. P. meet every 2nd and 4th Monday at Exchange Hall corner of Sangamon and Monroe street.

All communications to Section Toronto to be sent to C. A. V. Kemp, organizer Section Toronto, Bracondale P. O. Ont. Canada.

Sec. St. Louis, Mo., S. L. P. meets every Thursday, 8 p. m. at 307½ Pine Street Room 6.

Sec. Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P. meets every first and third Sunday of month at 356 Ontario Street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 2.30 P. M.

Tacoma, Wash., Section headquarters and public reading room corner 12th and A street, room 304, over Post Office. Open every evening. All workingmen invited. Business meetings every Tuesday.

Section Providence, R. I., meets at 77 Dyer street, room 8. Something going on every Tuesday night at 8.00 p. m. 2nd and 4th regular business, others devoted to lectures and discussions. During the winter a Science Class every Wednesday night.

Section Indianapolis. Meetings first and third Tuesdays of each month, at 29½ South Deleware street, third floor.

Detroit, Mich., "Socialist Labor Auxiliary Reading Room, room 10 avenue Theatre Bldg. Woodward avenue. Open every evening. Sunday all day. Discussion upon interesting topics every Sunday

ARBETAREN

Swedish Weekly Organ of the Socialist Labor Party.

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Liberal Commission to Agents.

ARBETAREN,

2-6 New Reade street, New York City.

P. O. Box 341.

NEW YORK OPEN AIR MEETINGS.

Tuesday, August 1, 8 P. M.

Christopher and Bleecker streets; Twenty-seventh street and Eighth avenue.

Wednesday, August 2, 8 P. M.

Twenty-sixth street and Second avenue; Seventy-fourth street and First avenue; Eighty-fourth street and Avenue A.

Thursday, August 3, 8 P. M.

Third street and Avenue C; Fourth street and Avenue A; One Hundred and twenty-seventh street and Third avenue.

Friday, August 4, 8 P. M.

Rivington and Pitt streets; One Hundred and eleventh street and Third avenue; One Hundred and forty-first street and St. Ann's avenue.

Saturday, August 5, 8 P. M.

Fourteenth street and Irving place; Seventy-ninth street and Third avenue; One Hundred and forty-eighth street and Willis avenue; Tremont and Bathgate avenues.

YONKERS OPEN AIR MEETING

Saturday, July 29.

Getty Square, 8 p. m.—Chairman, P. Troy. Speaker, E. F. Wegener.

BOSTON PICNIC.

Friends and sympathizers of Section Boston, S. L. P.: the Arm and Hammer Club of the Section is going to hold a picnic Saturday, August 5, at Armory Grove, for the benefit of the Section. A tug of war has been arranged between the Scandinavian Socialist Club and Section Boston, S. L. P. There will be singing by the Scandinavian Society chorus and others. Also various games and sports. A good time is assured. Tickets can be had at headquarters, 1165 Tremont street, or at secretary's house, F. Houtenbring, 27 Story street, South Boston.

IN AID OF RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONISTS.

A. Clayman, New York	50
L. P. Hoffman, Jacksonville, Ill.	50
Previously acknowledged	$176.74
Grand total	$177.74

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.